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Five areas in the Maritime Provinces of Canada were subjected to intensive geographical, economic, and sociological surveys in an attempt to determine and define poverty illustratively rather than statistically. Information was obtained by in-residence researchers on bio-physical setting, settlement, population, labor and economic activity, fisheries, rural milieu and agriculture, mining, and forestry. Although it was concluded that a precise definition could not be drawn from the survey, the results were presented as being an aid to the understanding of certain geographic areas in relation to poverty. (DK)

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LIFE AND POVERTY IN THE MARITIMES

PIERRE-YVES PÉPIN

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ARDA RESEARCH REPORT NO. RE-3

LIFE AND POVERTY IN THE MARITIMES

by

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FOREWORD

ARDA is more than an Act of Parliament. It is more than policymakers, administrators, planners and researchers; more than problems; more than resources that need to be developed or reorganized. It is, above all, a means of improving the lot of rural people, of helping them to rise above the conditions that cramp their lives and stifle their hopes for their children.

A program such as this, if it is to work well, demands understanding and co-operation at all levels - family, community, regional, provincial and national. To know what is needed, and how the needs may be met, demands research and study. That is why so much effort, both federal and provincial, has been put into ARDA research. That is also the reason why as many people as possible, among those involved in ARDA, should have access to the results of the research.

The federal ARDA administration has undertaken to publish and distribute research reports that provide useful background information, not only for those who make the decisions, but for those who carry out the decisions and those who are affected by them. The research study reported in this volume, Life and Poverty in the Maritimes, was sponsored by the governments of Canada and the provinces involved.

Maurice Sauvé
Minister of Forestry
and Rural Development
Canada

PREFACE

The Contract

This survey, requested by the federal ARDA administration, Department of Forestry and Rural Development, was carried out within the framework of Project No. 15002. The views expressed are entirely those of the author, and do not necessarily represent government policies.

The Terms of the Contract were:

1. To conceive, organize and carry out a geographical survey in order to evaluate ideas of comfort and poverty in some typical counties of the Maritime Provinces.
2. To ensure the co-ordination of the results of this survey with the observations derived from data furnished by people engaged in other scientific disciplines, in order to:
   (a) help in establishing a valid process for defining depressed areas, according to factors observed and evaluated on the spot;
   (b) bring out the significant elements or factors in those depressed areas on the basis of criteria established by comparing the various geographical areas surveyed;
   (c) collect material necessary for an understanding of life and problems in these areas, and use this material as a general outline of factors which could be applied to similar regions in the Maritime Provinces.

Choice of Localities

Many readers may be perplexed by the omission in the Introduction of the criteria and factors which led to the choice of the localities surveyed and the persons interviewed. The reason is simple. After selecting the survey counties, a centre of operations, typical of the milieu and the traffic hub for investigations, was established.

As the purpose was not to draw up an inventory or a monograph but to carry out a geographical reconnaissance, we thought it sufficient to stick to the three following operations: a survey of a typical, well-situated centre and of the surrounding district, a geographical reconnaissance of the entire county, and a survey of typical areas (sub-regions) - fishing coasts, agricultural valleys or plains, and forest tablelands. Thus, by residing in Cap Lumière and in Richibuctou Village, twin localities which form one of the best integrated Acadian communities in Kent (centre of operations in the first survey region) we were able to make a thorough study and also the widest range of comparisons between thriving and depressed areas, from Claire-Fontaine to Cocagne. In the same way, on Prince Edward Island, a base in the north-east (Souris) - a veritable microcosm - made it easier to understand one of the most significant areas of the survey regions. Chéticamp was the obvious choice in Inverness North, and so was Oak Bay in Charlotte. The only problem of location arose in Digby-Yarmouth, which is on a long stretch of coast with virtually continuous settlements.

With regard to the people interviewed, it was a matter, as in any survey of this nature, of maintaining a balance between contact with elements representing social and economic leadership and with elements representing the mass - the positive and the problematic elements. Since we wanted several points of view on each question, we interviewed fishermen, fish processing workers, fish buyers and factory managers with the aim of understanding the basic nature of fishing in all its aspects.

The same applied to the fishing, processing, and food co-operatives and to Credit Unions. Thus, the reader should not expect to find the same rigid system applied in each chapter.

A word is needed to emphasize the simplicity of the working method in the field, which was tied directly to the choice of localities to be surveyed and persons to be interviewed. It was essentially a matter of living in a milieu, and among its inhabitants; the intensity of the survey was to reconcile the scope of the program with the briefness of the stay. Two months of laboratory work provided some academic and statistical knowledge of the area to be surveyed. In the field, the map, photography (more than two hundred slides), direct investigation and the daily annotated travel journal provided our working tools.

This method sufficed for observing man, individually and collectively, in relation to his living milieu, at work and at rest, at sea and in the fields, on the forest tablelands and in the villages. This was how we proceeded. Geographical reconnaissance trips were the basis for detecting most of the explanatory factors determining the phenomena under study, and to find some of our most valuable informants.

We have not hesitated to record contradictory information, comments and evaluations on any subject. Each man is entitled to his own beliefs, and the answer we were seeking often emerged only from a compromise, by establishing a common denominator between contradictory points of view.

The plan for this study of the Maritime Provinces began taking shape in February 1965, when discussions opened with some senior officers of ARDA in Ottawa. Following this, there was a general meeting of some 10 members of the scientific staff. This brought together the theory, practice, experience and, above all, the determination of a group who wanted to study the rural situation and its problems concretely and efficiently.

We also called upon many colleagues; geographers, town-planners, economists, anthropologists, demographers and others, asking for their comments and criticisms of the text, and for interviews. It is thanks to them that our approach was kept within realistic bounds. Special mention should be made of the professorial staff of the Institute of Town Planning, who provided an environment where we could work with many disciplines that acted as a corrective influence. We thank all of them.

During the field work (July and August 1965) we made full use of the people of the Maritime Provinces, questioning them ceaselessly, and gathering documents and figures. Some interviews took four or five hours. We encountered in them understanding, interest and co-operation. This was our first extended contact with the Maritimes, and it soon aroused our desire to return to this modest yet proud people, who live in picturesque or spectacular surroundings, and who have preserved a way of life and a dignity that deserve respect. It is thus with real regret that we bring to an end a survey which gave us constant intellectual satisfaction. Let us hope that it will help toward understanding and, above all, improving living conditions that have been depressed mainly by outside factors.

Pierre-Yves Pépin,
Montreal, June 1, 1966

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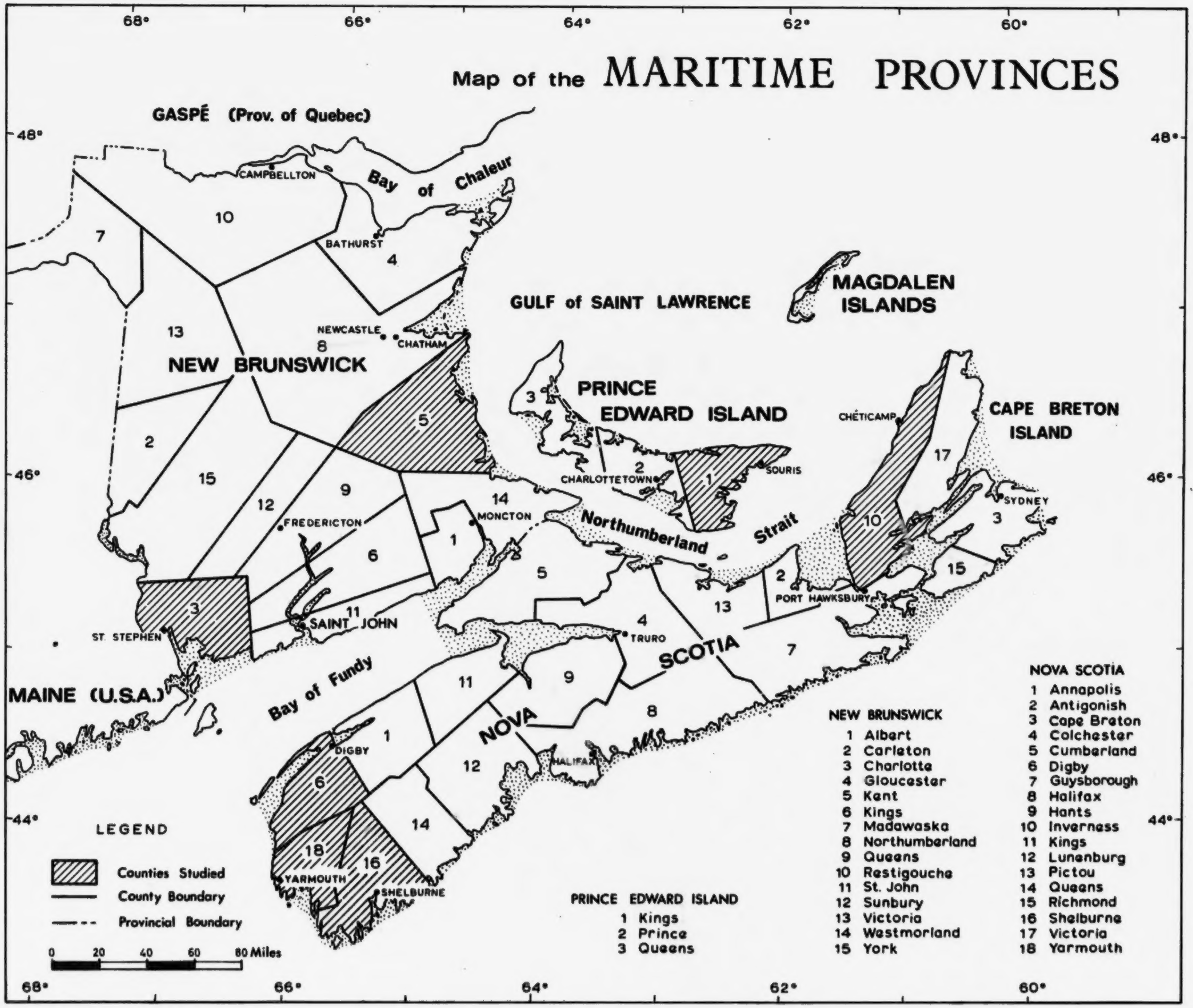


Map of the MARITIME PROVINCES

GASPÉ (Prov. of Quebec)
Bay of Chaleur
CAMPBELLTON
BATHURST
NEWCASTLE
CHATHAM
GULF of SAINT LAWRENCE
MAGDALEN ISLANDS
NEW BRUNSWICK
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
CHARLOTTETOWN
SOURIS
CHÉTICAMP
CAPE BRETON ISLAND
SYDNEY
Northumberland Strait
PORT HAWKSBURY
FREDERICTON
MONCTON
SAINT JOHN
ST. STEPHEN
TRURO
NOVA SCOTIA
HALIFAX
DIGBY
YARMOUTH
SHELBURNE
MAINE (U.S.A.)
Bay of Fundy
68°
66°
64°
62°
60°
48°
46°
44°
LEGEND
Counties Studied
County Boundary
Provincial Boundary
0
20
40
60
80 Miles
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
1 Kings
2 Prince
3 Queens
NEW BRUNSWICK
1 Albert
2 Carleton
3 Charlotte
4 Gloucester
5 Kent
6 Kings
7 Madawaska
8 Northumberland
9 Queens
10 Restigouche
11 St. John
12 Sunbury
13 Victoria
14 Westmorland
15 York
NOVA SCOTIA
1 Annapolis
2 Antigonish
3 Cape Breton
4 Colchester
5 Cumberland
6 Digby
7 Guysborough
8 Halifax
9 Hants
10 Inverness
11 Kings
12 Lunenburg
13 Pictou
14 Queens
15 Richmond
16 Shelburne
17 Victoria
18 Yarmouth

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this survey is a search for a true image of poverty other than that expressed by statistics and external evaluation. We are concerned less with making a thorough study of some particular aspect of regional life than with giving a general picture of the principal data and their interrelations[1]; with expressing regional life in terms of facts and problems, and within the framework of its own dynamic; with placing the phenomena in their time-space context.[2] We are trying to illustrate a milieu.

General Context of the Approach

In Canada, as elsewhere in the Northwestern world since the beginning of the fifties, the acceleration of urbanization and industrialization has brought a considerable change in the urban-rural relationship. An imbalance exists since this change creates all kinds of problems both for rural and urban dwellers. A distinction is also made between regions according to their capacity for ubanization and industrialization. At this geographical level, variations increase rapidly and a whole vocabulary has been developed in order to label those regions which are badly off, from the "depressed" region to the "underdeveloped" region.

These negative phenomena have been generated in a society and in an economy that counted upon the automatic internal adjustment of factors which would be positive and profitable in terms of the market. But, as soon as problems reach a certain level and a certain acuteness, the adjustment mechanism, if it has ever really worked, is blocked. Since the existing problems are a burden to the Canadian economy, concrete and practical solutions are sought.

---

[1] Data were chosen on principle of applicability; mainly illustrative. Some data, especially when obtained during interviews, are unreliable.

[2] Except where otherwise stated, all statistics quoted in this study are drawn from the 1961 Census.

Unfortunately, we are ill-equipped. Both local and general policies applied thus far have been outpaced by events. Although needed now, the synthetic and co-ordinated approaches and their geographical instruments exist only in outline. Since we are also short of methods, researchers and technicians, the groping is understandable.

The most striking expression of common confusion was the recent call for a "War on Poverty". But in Canada at least, there is a progressive realization that poverty is the result of a malfunctioning of the economy and of a deficient development of a territory.

The approach to regions judged poor by society must normally lead to an examination and a broadening of the concept of poverty in order to set its conditions in a logical context. The confusion clouding the concept of poverty leads us to give it detailed and precise treatment in this introduction, even before discussing the general characteristics of our enquiry.

Social Standards and Experience of Poverty

Essentially, the concept of poverty breaks down into two major types, namely poverty according to the standards of society and poverty according to individual standards (Pépin 1966). There is no need to refer to poverty as it is judged scientifically (biological poverty) where scientific standards are based upon the psychological and physiological minima of consumption necessary for the maintenance of health and human decency. Situations found to be below these minima will be termed absolute poverty. This is essentially a matter of proportion (Zweig 1948).

Let us turn to the first major type, whose criteria are determined by social standards, which are the minimum standards accepted by society with regard to health and human dignity. This is a judgment of poverty reached from a sense of common responsibility and social solidarity. The social standard is a function of the wealth of society, of the sense of solidarity, of the urgency of the needs and of the ideas currently held on poverty in terms of causes and effects. The current thinking on poverty theoretically makes it possible to determine the minimum standards of the citizen and also the measures to be taken in order to overcome the deficiencies.

Poverty can be remedied by using two complementary approaches: the humanitarian and the economic. The first emphasizes health and human dignity. The second emphasizes employment and efficiency because society envisages poverty as a handicap to the increase of the national product. Despite or because of this accountant's attitude, the economic approach makes it possible to set up far-reaching coherent programs. It involves the poverty of the masses (Canada. Department of Forestry 1964).

At the level of the unit, the man, it is no longer society which determines the classes of poverty. It is the individual himself who establishes himself and his family and who determines the minimum standard with regard to health and human dignity. It is poverty based upon the judgment of the individual. By nature, the individual standard is different and many-faced. Every individual is a function of the geographical, economic and social milieu, of their occupations and human relations, of their education and their physical and mental capacities, of their aspirations, and of the breadth of their universe. It is evident that regression in relation to a given socio-economic level will be related to poverty. Finally, poverty affects people at different stages of their lives.

This is no longer a question of an average or of social standards but of a visceral and directly experienced poverty. The wider the disparity of living standards, the more acutely will poverty be perceived by the individual. It has been rightly stated that, "The individual is poor as long as he feels poor, rejected or alienated from the economic or the cultural mainstream" (Reiner and Reiner 1965). The feeling of poverty will be aggravated when the individual judges that his situation is unjust: the result of regional economic disintegration or of unemployment caused by automation.

The nature and intensity of poverty vary in space and time, and according to the socio-economic scale. This is why it would be wiser to speak of a combined comfort-poverty concept, where variations within the scale are subtle and complex (Gosselin and Tremblay 1960).

This concept is a gauge which finally expresses the success and failure of human endeavour. It is a means of relating characteristics like the bio-physical setting, ethnic and religious groups, occupations, mental health and physical energy, family size, education, external influences and perception of the outer world. (These are called man's spheres of influence.)

It is necessary also to stress the differences brought about by time. For example, it should be realized that the concepts of rural poverty at the beginning of the century and at the present time do not have a common basis. If the inhabitants of a good number of rural regions now have a keener sense of their poverty, it is because they travel and are visited, and also because they use information media.

Geographical Concept of Poverty

Having arrived at a first general view of the concept of poverty, we must now apply it to reality. We encounter Canadian reality, more precisely that of the Maritime Provinces, in discussing the notion of pauperism. As Larousse crudely puts it, it concerns "the permanent state of need in a part of a country". If an attack on pauperism is intended, which is presently the case, one is plainly aware of the existence of a sizeable gap between the view held by society and that by the individual, the abrupt transition from the social universe to the individual cell.

Between Zweig's two fundamental definitions, that of society and that of the individual, we therefore introduce an intermediate view, namely that of regional consciousness, where geographical distance and a common milieu make it possible to bring the two factors together - the social standard and the individual standard. It may be pointed out, without risk of error that the discrepancy in the perception of reality will be less pronounced in a personalized and relatively narrow, homogenous geographical setting than on the scale of a province or a country. The regional level of approach thus makes it possible to apply general measures, based on a common denominator, at the federal and provincial levels; it is an operational level, an action level.

The weakness of this system, in a state the size of a continent, is that generally applicable measures, conceived on the basis of a common denominator, lose much of their value when implemented. This is because from sea to sea in Canada geographical areas, communities, ways of life, needs and mentalities differ.

This is the approach to understanding poverty which we have followed, and it is in terms of preoccupations like these that we have designed our research. How are we to observe poverty from within (regional level) in a web of causes and effects on the bio-physical setting, and to envisage this poverty in a larger perspective? We have to rediscover and group the determinant phenomena in terms of facts and problems, and to outline the endogenous and exogenous factors in the milieu, and the factors generally applicable in similar surroundings, at hand or far away.

The Maritime Provinces and the Choice of Counties

The Maritime Provinces form a geographical, economic and social unit. It is a Land's End of the North American continent, oriented towards the ocean. Only centre-west New Brunswick shows characteristics of compactness. Elsewhere it is a system of peninsulas and jagged dissected islands, surrounded by the sea. It is also an area which has been inhabited for a long time, where the rural districts have relatively well-preserved ways of life, and primary activities,fishing, agriculture, forestry and mining predominate.

It is a settlement consisting of a British majority and of French, where the New Englanders and the English have taken over business, whereas the Scots and the Acadians have remained closer to the rural milieu and the exploitation of natural resources. Population density is light, incomes low, and supply and sales markets are situated far into the interior of the continent. There is a great dependence on outside trade, and transportation costs handicap the economy and the secondary sector of production, centred essentially in natural resources, is only slightly developed.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century there has been a strong trend of emigration towards the interior of the continent, whereas "internal" emigration has added to urban centres, Halifax, Sidney, Charlottetown, Saint John, Fredericton and Moncton. The counties which contain these cities and the adjoining counties are classified with the prosperous sectors of the Maritimes, because of urban employment in industry, utilities, and the supply of agricultural products.

Elsewhere the counties are usually depressed economically. Generally these are counties where the urban structure is weak, where primary activities predominate, and traditional ways of life are still discernible. These are the districts associated with fishing, agriculture and lumbering.

It was on the latter type of milieu that we concentrated: the so-called rural regions with a simple economy. Our study required the gathering of certain statistical information, and the county was used as the data base in the area studied. The choice of counties was made in terms of the criteria enumerated below and summarized in Table 1. Needless to say, the series of maps prepared by ARDA was integrated into the process.

The counties of Kent and Charlotte in New Brunswick, Inverness and Yarmouth in Nova Scotia and Kings on Prince Edward Island, thus appeared to be the most favourable for the purposes of the enquiry. However, we never allowed ourselves to be limited by the geographical boundaries of the county which, as one knows, is a territory established for political and administrative purposes. This was solely a frame of reference which we did not hesitate to overstep. Thus, certain areas of research became gradually restricted to one particular part of a county (Inverness-North) whereas other areas spread across more than one county (Digby-Yarmouth).

Major Criteria for Selection

1. Coastal areas where bio-physical setting sets certain limits on the attainment of a high standard of living.
2. Presence of distinctive traditional ways of life, and of neighbouring or superposed ethnic groups.
3. Overlapping of fishing, agricultural and lumbering activities, and the primary level of processing.
4. Low level of education, low per capita income, and high rate of unemployment.
5. Stagnation of, or decrease in population.

6. Weakness of the urban structure.

7. Geographical isolation.

TABLE 1 - STATISTICS USED TO SELECT SURVEY COUNTIES*

Criterion	New Brunswick		Nova Scotia		P.E.I.
	Kent	Charlotte	Inverness	Yarmouth	Kings
Low income farms	5	5	4	3	5
Low rural wages	5	4	5	4	5
Low family incomes	5	5	5	5	5
Registration for employment	4	4	5	4	3
Low urban salaries	5	2	3	3	5
Low levels of education	5	2	4	3	2
Infant mortality	3	4	4	4	3
Population, 1961 ('000)	26.6	23.2	18.7	23.3	17.8
Variation, 1961/1951	-0.4	-7.4	+1.8	+2.6	-0.3
Per capita income 1961	$490	$900	$690	$730	$730
Per capita income, 1961:					
Average	$1,000		$1,130		$930
Minimum	490		600		730
Maximum	1,270		1,300		980

*The figures in this table correspond to the negative grading (up to 5) used in the ARDA maps of "Economic and Social Disadvantage in Canada". For example, in "Low levels of education" numeral 5 indicates that 20% or more of the population, 15 years of age and over, has attained grade 4 or less (Canada. Department of Forestry 1964).

Milieu and Ways of Life

Now that the context of the approach, the concept of poverty and the method for selecting the survey areas have been described and explained, only the approach itself remains to be clarified. Its essential aim was to describe and explain rural poverty in terms of the living milieu and the ways of life.

The fundamental concept of the living standard is not foreign to our study. If it has not been treated exhaustively here, this is essentially because the research would have had to be considerably broadened - inordinately so - in terms of the aims of our approach. Of course, this is also due to the fact that a survey of living standards requires the application of disciplines which we have not mastered. Briefly, it can be claimed that the phenomenon itself is at least lightly touched on throughout the text.

This incomplete treatment may meet the requirements of a preliminary investigation but, within the framework of a thorough analysis of the man-milieu phenomenon, it would be necessary eventually to make provision for a thorough discussion of the standard of living. The restrictive economic notion which seems to limit itself to determining "the average income of a definite category of citizens", or to being "measured in terms of the quantity of goods and of services which the national average income can purchase" could be broadened (Fourastié 1958). We are more in favour of the idea of the standard of living defined by a United Nations committee of experts "as corresponding to the real living conditions of a population". The committee intended to approach the evaluation of the standard of living by measuring certain elements of living conditions which "reflect objectives concerned with the social and economic policy" (United Nations 1962). The functional broadening of the notion is interesting. The Economie et Humanisme groups (France) have long since included health, education, welfare, cultural needs and living milieu in the definition of the standard of living. The broadening of the notion must be done in terms of over-all state policies on the socio-economic level.

The living milieu is the foundation, the prop for the activities, and the bio-physical setting of man. More or less transformed, it corresponds to a *modus vivendi* between man and nature linked to each other by an interplay of adaptations and inter-influences. This interplay is a function of habitat, subsistence, economic activity and mobility. A milieu is where the elasticity of the degree of utilization is a function of techniques and needs (and also of wishes) in a given combination. It is the changing theatre in which communities evolve.

Care must, of course, be taken not to fall into dogmatic geographical determinism, but the normal influence of the bio-physical upon the economic and social behaviour of man must be acknowledged. Furthermore, this influence is dynamic. The role of history is important in determining the causes for delay in adaptation in living areas like the rural districts of the Maritimes. This is why we stress the history of settlement, which is synonymous for us with the occupation of the territory and the evolution of its development.

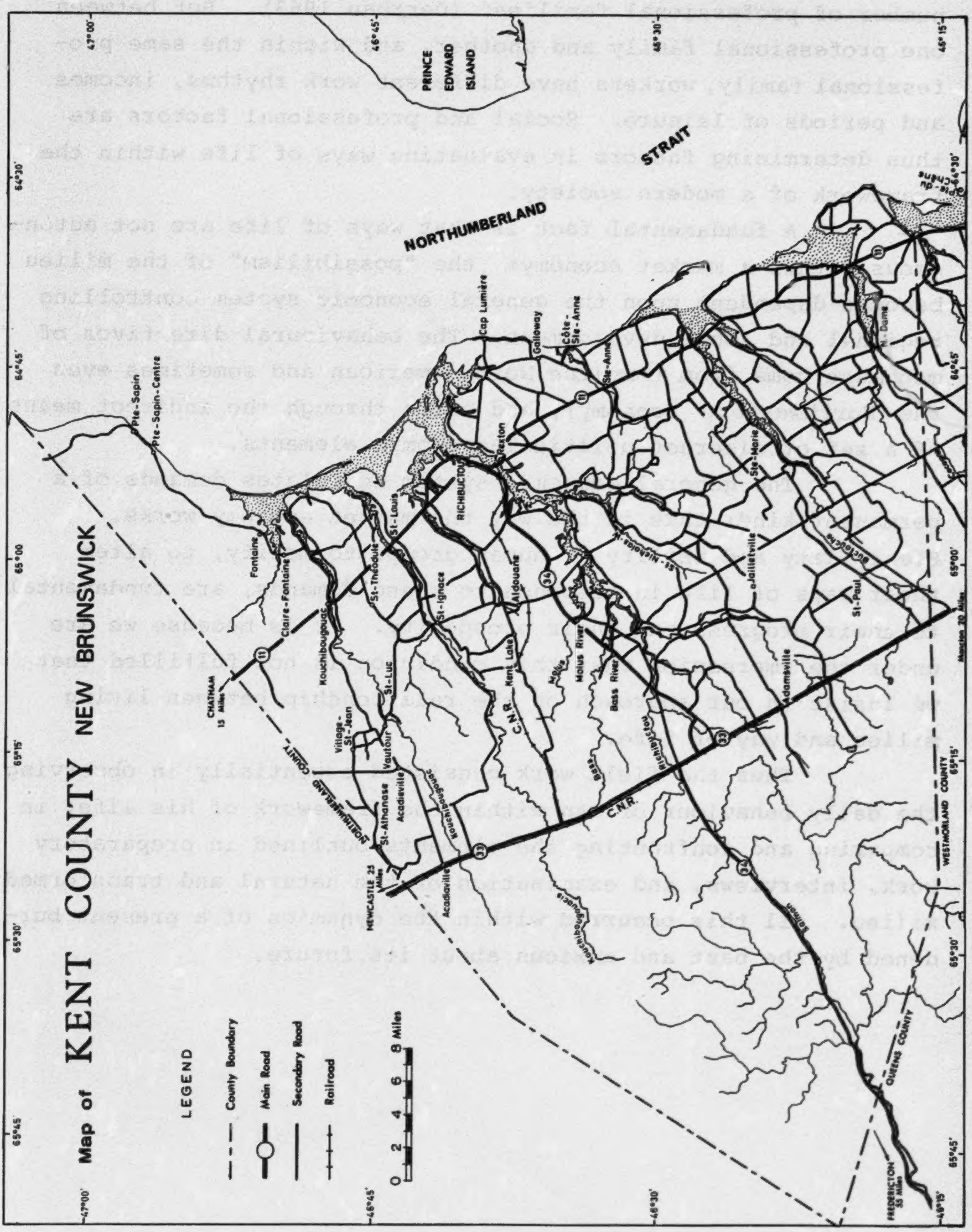
The idea of living milieu is normally associated with that of the way of life in rural regions where the traditional modes of life have preserved a good deal of their vitality. "Collective life is the only way of life. It can be defined as a set of habits by which the group practising them ensures its existence" (Derruau 1963). It is also an amalgam of techniques closely bound to each other by a permanent empirical adjustment to discoveries and setbacks, of rejection of the useless elements. It is the patient process of adaptation to the living milieu.

But we are far from ancient or primitive societies; various ways of life cohabit within an evolved society where "within a similar area, there no longer exists merely one way of life, but a multiplicity of ways of life, as numerous as the number of professional families" (Derruau 1963). But between one professional family and another, and within the same professional family, workers have different work rhythms, incomes and periods of leisure. Social and professional factors are thus determining factors in evaluating ways of life within the framework of a modern society.

A fundamental fact is that ways of life are not autonomous within a market economy: the "possibilism" of the milieu becomes dependent upon the general economic system controlling regional and local development. The behavioural directives of men must come from afar (the North American and sometimes even the Northwestern economy), and often through the indirect means of a set of discreet political-economic elements.

The general economic system formulates demands of a permanent kind; this is the way the market economy works. Flexibility and ability of human groups to modify, to alter their ways of life in response to these demands, are fundamental to their progress and their prosperity. It is because we are under the impression that this condition is not fulfilled that we insist in our approach on the relationship between living milieu and way of life.

Thus the field work consisted essentially in observing the daily behaviour of man within the framework of his life; in comparing and confronting the elements outlined in preparatory work, interviews, and examination of the natural and transformed milieu. All this occurred within the dynamics of a present burdened by the past and anxious about its future.


Map of KENT COUNTY NEW BRUNSWICK
LEGEND
County Boundary
Main Road
Secondary Road
Railroad
0 2 4 6 8 Miles
NORTHUMBERLAND STRAIT
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY
WESTMORLAND COUNTY
QUEENS COUNTY
CHATHAM 15 Miles
NEWCASTLE 25 Miles
FREDERICTON 55 Miles
Moncton 20 Miles
Pte-Sapin
Pte-Sapin-Centre
Fontaine
Claire-Fontaine
St-Louis
St-Théodule
Kouchibouguac
St-Ignace
RICHIBUCTO
Cap Lumière
Galloway
Côte-Ste-Anne
Ste-Anne
Rexton
Aldouane
Kent Lake
St-Luc
Village-St-Jean
Vautour
Acadieville
St-Athanase
Kouchibouguacis
C.N.R.
Molus River
Bass River
Base River
Richibucto
Adamsville
St-Paul
Joiletteville
Ste-Marie
St-Nicholas R.
N.-Dame
Buctouche
Salmon
11
33
34
47°00'
46°45'
46°30'
46°15'
65°45'
65°30'
65°15'
65°00'
64°45'
64°30'
64°15'

CHAPTER I

KENT - UNPRODUCTIVE SETTING, UNFAVOURABLE SITE

GENERAL INFORMATION

Bio-Physical Setting

The County of Kent is situated in the large plain which makes up the eastern part of New Brunswick (Ganong 1964; Raîche 1962). The plain is an eroded plateau (less than 500 feet above sea level) in which layers of sedimentary rocks are mainly divided into semi-horizontal beds of sandstone and shale. In this flat countryside, where glaciation has disturbed and hindered drainage, there is an excessive number of peatbogs and fens.

The soils are thin podzols; the development of these podzols is facilitated by the heavy rains, the long, cold winters and the short, cool summers. The climate is continental but tempered by the sea. Frost may attack vegetation from September 10 to June 10. The growing season lasts from May 6 to October 15. The natural vegetation is the forest: black spruce, cedar and tamarack, in badly drained areas; silver birch, "wire birch" and jack pine in sandy areas; tamarack, yellow birch, sugar maple and beech on better land. With the exception of some lower valleys, the countryside is bleak, austere and depressingly flat.

The coastline is fissured by short rivers, the mouths of which open onto a low coast of powdery material clogged by sand. Spits and off-shore bars border the coastline and are often separated from the mainland by lagoons. The sea penetrates easily into the interior of the region through drowned valleys (average depth - 2 to 3 feet); favourite places for settlement when communication was by sea. The mouths of the Cocagne, Buctouche and Richibuctou thus attracted settlement very early on.

Settlement

People gathered on the coast, crowded between Northumberland Strait and Prince Edward Island to the east, and the forest and the marshes to the north, west and south. The axis of the Intercolonial railway is the settlement limit.

Three-quarters of the population of Kent are settled less than six miles from the coast. This can be explained by history and geography. During the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth, communication was by sea and the places most suitable for settlement were (and still are) the mouths of the following rivers: the Cocagne, Buctouche, Richibuctou and, to a lesser degree, Aldouane, Kouchibougouacis and Kouchibougouac. The Acadians were the first to arrive in 1755, closely followed by the Loyalists (1783), the British already in the country and the immigrants - including, after 1846, the Irish.

Cocagne is the oldest settlement in Kent. The Acadians have been there since 1755 and they received land grants in 1772. This was the government's first official positive action on their behalf. To the south, their settlements reached as far as Shediac. The British came from Sackville and Cumberland and occupied the upper Buctouche valley, where they were eventually replaced by the Acadians. The latter settled at the mouth of the Buctouche in 1786 and were followed by the English and the Irish (1800). The Indian reserve came into existence in 1810. The village became a distribution centre after the construction of the track of the B. and M. Railroad. Once again the British who swarmed in were replaced by the Acadians; particularly at Black River in the south, founded by the Scots in 1790.

The favourable qualities of the site of Richibuctou made this a very early settlement area (a prehistoric, fortified Indian village). The French came in 1682 and the Acadians sought refuge there in 1760. However, they finally chose the site of Richibuctou Village where they farmed and fished (1790). It was the Loyalists who, in 1787, took Richibuctou in hand and soon made it a centre for wood-working and shipbuilding. Old people in the area still talk about New Liverpool. The Scots and Irish immigrants overcame the interior and built the future municipality of Weldford. Settlers went up rivers and tributaries: the St-Nicholas, the Trout, the Bass, the Molus. In 1826, Richibuctou was raised to the status of shire-town or capital of the county. It reached its height in the middle of the nineteenth century. Rexton (Kingston - 1825), a prosperous village on the right bank of the Richibuctou, also provided lumber and boats.

From the beginning of the last century, the Acadians, taking advantage of a high natural rate of growth, swarmed along the coast and inland. From Richibuctou and Buctouche they made their way to Chockpish (Ste-Anne - 1820). They went as far as Grande-Digue to the south of Cocagne. In the north of the county, St-Charles (Aldouane - 1790) provided people to start settlements in the interior. The Acadians had a fishing village at Pointe Sapin in the extreme north of the county. The British started settlements across the county; one of these was Kouchibougouac, founded in 1800.

The middle of the nineteenth century was a turning point for settlement. Immigration suddenly ceased. From then on, natural increase was almost the only operative factor. The Acadians consolidated their positions on the coast; one of these was at Galloway where they replaced the British. The latter, like the French, were to turn inland. Roads were built: Moncton to Shediac and Moncton to the upper Richibuctou valley.

The government soon improved its land distribution policy. Up to 1849 payment had to be made in cash, but in that year the Legislature established the Labour Act which allowed payment to be made in the form of work on road construction. The initiative was fruitful (but less so in 1856, when large blocks of land were sold by auction). The basic initiative still remained the Free Grants Act of 1872, promulgated when the government was worried about the acceleration of the exodus. The land now became free, the only condition being that a group of colonists had to join together to ask for it. This is how Salmon River, Acadieville, Adamsville, Rogerville and Eel River came into being in 1879, and Dunnville and Barnesville in 1880.

The land was divided up into squares and the straight inland roads were laid out. The Intercolonial railway was also built during this period. Some of the people settled near the railway line. Harcourt, which had been founded in 1826, had a heterogeneous British and Acadian population, and a lively village developed where the railroad crossed the Great Lake road. The main towns which owed their origin to the Free Grants Act were Cail Settlement (1873 - probably became Cails Mills, near Harcourt), Acadieville (1874) and Adamsville (1879). The Acadians had not stopped spreading: Ste-Marie (1867) and St-Paul (1883) were founded by groups of Acadians on the Buctouche.

By the beginning of this century settlement was finished. An attempt was made to mine coal at Beersville on the Coal Branch in 1902; Belgian miners were even brought in during the following year, but the project soon died out. Slowly but surely people began to leave the interior and either return to the coast or leave the region. Whole hamlets completely disappeared: Alexandrina, Pélerin, Pine Ridge, McNairn, Village-St-Irénée, Coates Mills and Kent Lake.

The rural population of the interior disappeared all the more easily because there were no fixed centres. In a principally Anglo-Saxon milieu there were no groups of buildings. In the interior plain, present Acadian settlements have the same appearance; at St-Norbert, for instance, the church is isolated between the fields and the road. The structure of the settlements is different on the coastline, which is fringed with one-street Acadian fishing villages, and the larger villages of Cocagne, Buctouche and Richibuctou are certainly densely populated.

There are no towns in the county. The nearest urban centres are Newcastle 39 miles north-west of the geographical centre of Kent, and Moncton 34 miles to the south-east; 89 per cent of the population of Kent is rural.

Population

Natural increase, still relatively high, masks the great emigration in Kent. The over-all population has hardly dropped since 1951, when the population became greater than ever before in the history of the county. However, it must be added that the population, (as Table 2 shows), has grown quite slowly since 1891.

TABLE 2 - POPULATION OF KENT - 1851-1961

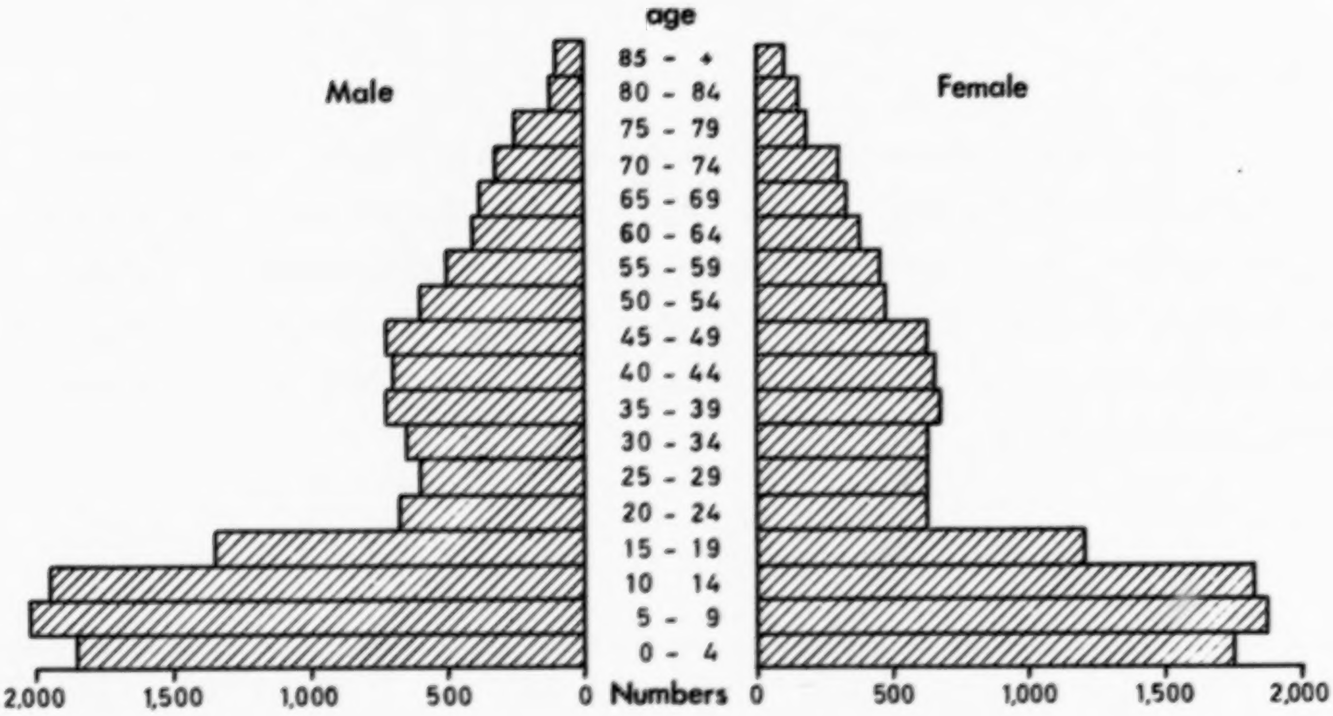
1851	11,410	1891	23,845	1931	23,478
1861	15,854	1901	23,958	1941	25,817
1871	19,101	1911	24,376	1951	26,767
1881	22,618	1921	23,916	1961	26,667

The Kent County pyramid of ages for 1961 shows a wide gap between groups 0-19 and 40 and up (see next page). The narrowing of the base of the pyramid at the 0-4 age level may well correspond to the sharp decrease in the number of people having children, since it is mainly people of this age group who emigrate. Finally, the extent of female migration is shown by the high ratio of men to women - 109 per cent.

Victor Raîche has calculated the migratory movement in the period 1921 to 1956 (Raîche 1962); the result is striking. There was a natural increase of 18,161 people which is 76 per

AGE – SEX PYRAMID

KENT COUNTY – 1961



cent of the 1921 population. The real increase was only 3,576 people, which means that 14,585 people emigrated. This loss corresponds to 61 per cent of the 1921 population and 80 per cent of the natural growth. M. Raîche emphasizes that the County of Kent is the one that suffers most from emigration.

If the adult population were to be demographically defined as the 20-59 age group, it would not make up more than 37 per cent of the total population. Young people predominate; 52 per cent of the population is between 0 and 19. The age group 60 and over represents 11 per cent of the population. Calculations may also be made about the theoretical working population - that is, the 15-64 age block. The working population may, in fact, be larger because education does not seem very advanced in Kent and a number of people - often the self-employed such as fishermen and farmers - are still active at 65. By this second method of calculation, a figure of 49 per cent may be obtained for the working population; the proportion of true dependents is therefore 51 per cent of the population, and of this percentage 42 per cent are between 0 and 14 and 9 per cent over 65. The dependents/producers ratio is, therefore, negative.

Most of the population of Kent were born in New Brunswick. Eighty-two per cent are of French origin, 15 per cent of British origin and 3 per cent are reckoned to be of Indian origin. It must be emphasized that 12,179 people speak only French and 4,143 only English. This last figure corresponds roughly with the number of British (3,896) and Indian (784) inhabitants: 4,680. There are 10,150 who speak both French and English, and as there are 21,865 people of French origin, one may deduce that the bilinguals are almost all French. In places with a mixed population, as in the larger population centres like Buctouche and Richibuctou, the Acadians are bilingual. The same is not true of the British inhabitants of the same areas. Finally, there is a marked unilingualism in the Acadian agricultural and fishing villages, and as the British are entirely unilingual, this raises problems for the homogeneity and development of the milieu under consideration.

The statistics on religion clearly show the strong predominance of Catholics, who make up 90 per cent of the population. The remainder of the population is divided between various Protestant churches: Presbyterian (831), United Church (703), Anglican (631) and Baptist (266).

Labour and Economic Activity

The 1961 Census shows a labour force of 6,602 people in Kent County. This force may be analysed under two headings: type of activity and the professional division. The former indicates the sector and the latter the type of work.

According to the type of activity, labour may be classed as working at the primary level (37 per cent), secondary level (22 per cent) and the tertiary level (41 per cent). Services are identified by the predominating area of work; agriculture (1,247), lumbering (761) and fishing (464) employ the primary labour force. At the secondary level, the manufacturing industry (506 men and 369 women) is essentially concerned with the processing of fish. Also at the secondary level are 553 construction employees.

The slight technological progress shows up even more clearly in the examination of the population according to profession. Lumberjacks, farmers, workers (employed for the most part in the fish-processing factories) and labourers make up 77 per cent (3,932 people) of the labour force. The analysis of the rest (23 per cent - 1,204 people) is no less significant: 892 in service industries, recreational activities, transport and communications; 257 salespeople, 182 office workers, 344 executives and 387 people classed as professional workers and technicians. If teachers were not included in this last group, it would be very small. An annual report of the Department of Education shows 297 teachers in Kent in 1963.

As well as being engaged in traditional activities at a low technological level, the members of the labour force receive low wages and generally do not work all year. For the year ending June 1, 1961, the 3,367 male wage-earners of the county made an average of $1,559 and the 1,211 female wage-earners an average of $872. If one looks more closely at what actually happened, it may be noted that 82 per cent of the men (2,769) and 91 per cent of the women (1,098) earned less than $3,000.

Over the same period, 48 per cent of the wage-earners worked less than 27 weeks and 21 per cent less than 14 weeks. Only 36 per cent of the wage-earners worked from 40 to 52 weeks.

It must be emphasized that the men suffer more from unemployment: 49 per cent (less than 27 weeks) for the men and 45 per cent for the women. There are normally more women in primary teaching, commercial and office work, which are stable jobs.

In Kent, the make-up of the labour force clearly shows the sectors of economic activity: exploitation of natural resources and services. Coastal fishing and fish processing dominate the picture. These are really the main activities, involving lobster preserves, canning factories, herring smokehouses and net-making factories. Fishing and industrial processing are mainly co-operative ventures, the focal co-operatives being linked to the large organization, the United Maritime Fishermen.

There is only one private business of importance. Started by an Acadian and situated at Cocagne, it employs 300 people in summer and up to 600 in the lobster season. The shellfish come from all over the Maritimes and there is a large market for them in the United States. There are also some small lobster buyers who carry on their business on the coast. Competition is keen. There are, finally, a few private businesses; a herring smoking plant at Cap Lumière and a canning factory at Côte-Ste-Anne (Chockpish).

As we shall see, agriculture is primarily a means of subsistence and it ensures a place to live; to call it an economic activity is usually too generous. To the north of the county at Baie-Ste-Anne in Northumberland County the peatbogs have recently begun to be exploited. The peat deposit, covers 18,500 acres to an average depth of 20 feet, contains 97 per cent organic matter, and extends into Kent. The company exploiting the deposit considers that this is the richest deposit in Canada. There are also some sawmills and carpentry workshops. But it is clear that economic activity is divided mainly between fishing and service centres, with the latter largely dependent on the former.

FISHING AREAS

Coastal Fishing

Lobsters are the mainstay of the Kent fishing industry. There is competition among the buyers to obtain lobsters from the fishermen, but the number of fishermen is increasing to a much greater extent than the catch. Demand is high and since 1961 the price has risen from 30 to 62 cents. An average fisherman will catch about 6,000 pounds of lobster and the best will catch from 7,000 to 10,000 pounds. (The net gain may be measured by subtracting 30 per cent.) An average of 250 traps are used. Several species of fish are also caught but, since their commercial value is low, many fishermen go out only during the lobster season (from August 10 to October 10).

Mackerel, cod, plaice and herring are caught and, to the north of Cap Lumière, smelt, salmon and scallops. The 1965 spring price in the Gulf was 3¾ cents a pound for cod and 3 cents for plaice. Some species have a short season: the herring season lasts for 2 to 3 weeks from the end of April, and the mackerel season is two weeks in June. Cockles have nearly disappeared owing to pollution of the coastal waters. Oysters have been hit by Malpeque disease since 1955. Salmon, which is of high commercial value, makes up a small part of the catch and it is necessary to go as far as the Miramichi river in the north to find a large fishing area. Besides, the right to fish for salmon is the privilege of a small number of people; licences are jealously handed down from generation to generation.

In the north of the county there are also traditional large-trap licences held by old English companies. The large trap consists of a mile-long net which takes three weeks to set up. Seven men empty the net in the morning and prepare the fish for the rest of the day. The catch is shad and some salmon. The female shad is worth five times as much as the male, since it contains a pound of roe which is sold for a dollar; 5,000 a day can easily be caught.

Richibuctou Village and Cap Lumière

Richibuctou Village is an Acadian fishing centre which gives an impression of peaceful solidarity and permanence. The church, shops and services are inland, two miles from the coast. The appearance of concentration is deceptive because, apart from the central core, the houses are spaced out by the side of the roads. The countryside is flat and marshy and the sea comes right up to the village through a tiny river. "Boats" under repair or no longer in use lie around here and there.

Cap Lumière is a fishing and fish-processing area. It has a well-protected rectangular harbour (in July there are 45 fishing boats at sea and 10 on the beach), the modern factory of the United Maritime Fishermen, the lobster-ground, the two "boucanerie" (herring smoke-house) belong one to the local co-operative and one to a private owner. The village street runs along between the bush and the sea. Modest bungalows stand next to wooden houses, typically unpainted, blackened by the weather.

There are 208 families in the parish (more than a thousand people). Every year 25 to 30 births are registered and about 10 deaths. The natural growth rate is about 20 people a year. According to the parish priest, about a hundred families make their living from fishing. "People like fishing and they like their village, but the young people leave at the age of 20." They go mostly to New England, especially Waltham, Worcester, Gardner and Leominster, where there are French Catholic parishes. They accept hard work and long hours; they are in a hurry to buy an automobile.

In July, the holiday period for American factories, the émigrés return to their native surroundings in large numbers.

For two or three weeks the village is festive; cars, often luxurious, are continuously driven around and people visit, play the accordion, dance and drink beer.

This is a gathering of those who left Cap Lumière. One of them arrives from Waltham or Gardner, where he does piece-work in a lumber yard. However, he hates the city and he has travelled all night (600 miles) to get the most out of his holiday fortnight. Other emigrants - a couple of 55 to 60, for instance - are preparing to return for good and are buying small houses on the coast.

At Richibuctou Village and Cap Lumière agriculture is marginal. An Acadian and his two sons cultivate 21 acres of tobacco, but are also engaged in fish-processing. Another Acadian has been growing oats for three years, while a third is the parish dairyman. Two other Acadians farm part-time. There used to be more agriculture, but land has gone back to bush because of the lack of income.

Income primarily comes from fishing. Out of about 100 fishermen, 25 will make a living; the others are hard up because, though they love the sea, they do not have the qualities needed to make a profit from fishing and they manage their affairs badly. Moreover some fishermen refuse to let their sons work as assistants to boat owners because the wages would be low. Gross income varies, moreover, between $3,000 and $8,000. During the winter about 20 fishermen work regularly every year as longshoremen at the port of Saint John (4 months - December to April). Fishing is done mainly between May and September and, after that, fishermen are often content to spend the winter repairing tackle.

During this period a family with five children receives a steady income of $33 from unemployment insurance. There is no real poverty. Two or three families at the most will be in difficulties "because they are not good managers". Only two families asked for welfare benefits. People do not talk of poverty: "You are either lucky or you're not" or "There are big fishermen and little fishermen". At Easter, even though the unemployment benefits were exhausted, 30 families went to see relatives who had emigrated to New England. But, in general, people do not take much interest in what is going on outside, and television is only entertainment.

Living and earning conditions have not always been decent and it was the co-operative which saved the village. In 1935 lobster sold for 3 cents a pound and the fishermen were exploited. It was then that Father Coady of Antigonish and Martin Légère of Caraquet came to tell the village about co-operatives. A credit union, a store and a fish co-operative were gradually established. After some mishaps, due mainly to inexperience, everything is now on a sound footing. For example, in 1964 the store sales rose to $225,000.

The United Maritime Fishermen's factory was built in 1961. Nearly 125 women and 30 men work there from May to June. There is a three-week break in July and then work carries on intermittently until Christmas. A fair number of workers are brought in by bus, and many come even from St-Louis and Buctouche. The permanent workers earn $50 a week.

Pointe-Sapin and Claire-Fontaine

In an area of traditional small-scale badly managed fishing, Pointe-Sapin and Claire-Fontaine are delapidated, one-street villages which stretch between the sea and an area of marshes, peatbogs and stunted conifers. It is one of the most unproductive geographical sectors of the county. Yet the Acadians have settled there for a century and a half.

Pointe-Sapin has about 100 families and Claire-Fontaine 70. At the parochial level the latter locality is a charge of Pointe-Sapin, which is sounder socio-economically. It also has a school and Claire-Fontaine children are brought to it every day. The present church at Pointe-Sapin was built in 1949 to hold 200 more people than the actual population at that time; but the 40 new families expected never came.

The church, badly built, is costly to maintain and in constant need of repair. On the "lawn", facing the sea, an automatically controlled luminous fountain in the shape of a star was set up and surmounted by a statue of the Virgin. This fountain, which cost $5,000, is damaged, and does not work.

Fishing here has special characteristics; it is done with a trap. One large trap belongs to the old English company, and three Acadians are entitled to use small traps. At Pointe-Sapin, there is a co-operative. A fisherman's gross income is from $2,700 to $3,200 annually. There used to be seven lobster canning factories which employed about a hundred people but these have gradually disappeared.

At *Claire-Fontaine*, people are either fishermen-workmen, fishermen-"farmers", of no fixed employment, or pensioned; there are more than 20 people in these last two categories. A large number of people try to qualify for the "permanent pension". Annual income per capita is $700 lower than at Pointe-Sapin. The fishermen work for wages only. When the fishing season is over they cut some wood for pulp, but mainly for their own heating.

In 1962, 17 children under 16 years of age did not go to school. Only one child completed the 12th grade. It should be noted that it is only since 1957 that it has been possible to reach this grade in this area. The young men usually stay in the village to fish but the girls (who often marry at 16) go to work as domestics in Chatham and elsewhere. Bitter complaints are made about the high level of municipal taxes; 90 per cent of which are for education. Hopes are high concerning the Byrnes Commission report.

At Claire-Fontaine housing is very bad, and there is much crowding. Only one house had a water tap in 1960; in summer people wash in the sea. Only a few houses have lavatories

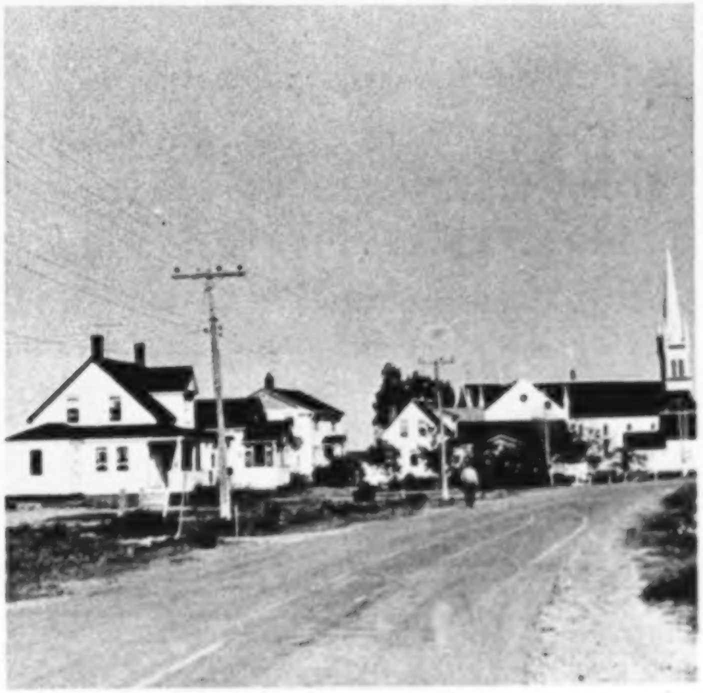


Figure 1. Richibuctou Village, on Northumberland Strait, home of Acadian fishermen; no real grouping of buildings; church at junction of roads.

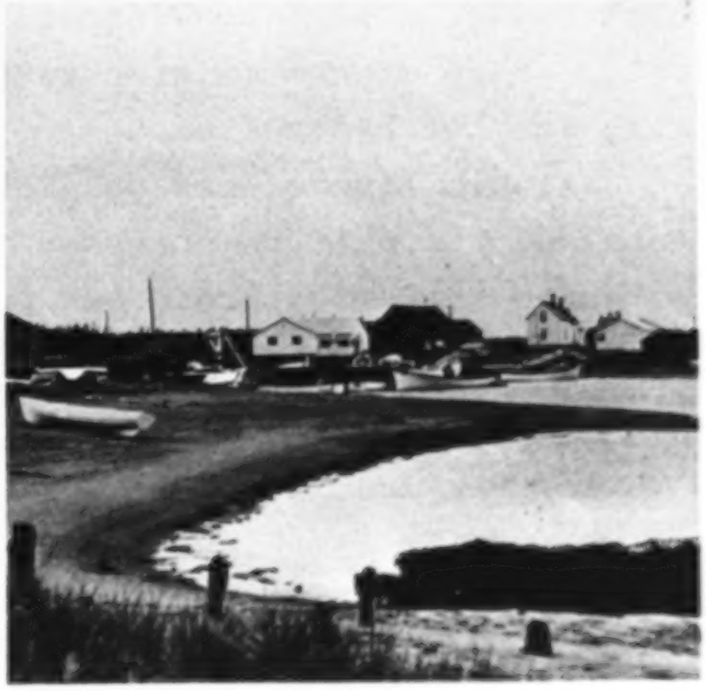


Figure 2. Canning factory (molluscs and lobster) at Côte-Ste-Anne (Chockpish).

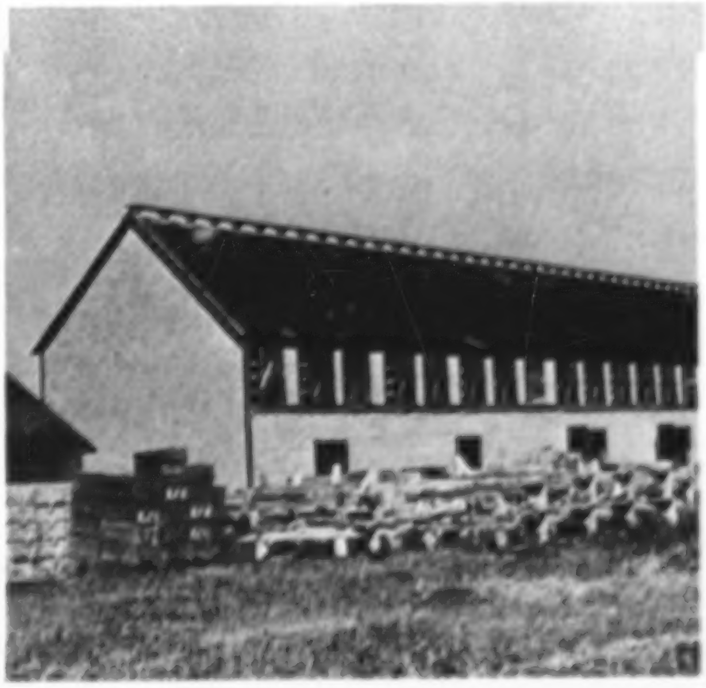


Figure 3. Cap Lumière "boucanerie" Co-operative; pickled herring smoked over hardwood.

Figure 4. A mixed, family farm on the inland plain; worked by "B"; provides a living for 15 people.

which flush. The 6 to 7 stores in the village are just private houses where stocks of groceries and other items are kept on trust for merchants from St-Louis and elsewhere. The neighbouring parishes have a poor opinion of the population of Claire-Fontaine. It must be stressed that until about five years ago the north Kent coast road was impassable owing to ruts, mud and snow. The present road is very good.

THE RURAL MILIEU AND AGRICULTURE

Agriculture in the County

The rural population finds the problem of taxes more serious than the problems of agricultural production. The educational structure is the cause of the high taxes. The cost of building schools and the level of teachers' salaries are out of proportion to the financial resources of the country people. The tax total may be as much as $500 per capita. Living conditions are difficult. No one is actually reduced to beggary, but in some parishes - St-Ignace in particular - the head of the family makes from $1,500 to $2,000. In several parishes people live on wages from six-months' work a year outside the parish.

The average amount of land under cultivation is 30 acres. The largest herd is composed of 30 cows, and the average is 5 dairy cows to each herd; there are also a few beef animals (Herefords) raised by the English. In general "one does a bit of this and a bit of that". At Ste-Marie, "Y" and "Z" are perhaps the largest farmers in the county, but also the most deeply in debt.

Four years ago, the county agronomist initiated the cultivation of Brussels sprouts at Rogersville and Acadieville. The whole crop is sold to a Florenceville buyer who sells it on the frozen food market; especially in England. This market can take only a limited amount because of the strong competition. This type of cultivation is profitable for those who have a good deal of family help; 15 to 20 acres are necessary to support a family.

There is also talk of a distribution centre at Richibuctou for agricultural products (hay, corn, vegetables, and livestock). A provisional organizing committee has been set up for the county (and the County of Westmorland). Consideration is also being given to the organization of community forests by joining together land claimed by the municipalities for non-payment of taxes, and abandoned and vacant land. A sawmill will then be set up to provide the fishermen with the wood they need, as well as supplying laths for the American market.

The farmers have difficulty in borrowing money to modernize their farms because valuations in the neighbourhood are too low; how can the farmer borrow $6,000 when the neighbouring farms are valued at $3,000? The capital needed to organize a 200 to 250 acre farm is about $50,000. So the Farm Settlement Board for newly established farms remains a dead letter, as does the related policy of guaranteed agricultural loans. Co-operation is not successful in this centre because it is orientated to consumption, and here again there is a need for consolidation, regrouping and modernization. But the fundamental problem persists: the young people do not wish to take up agriculture in their turn, since they have seen their fathers working themselves to death and have heard their mothers complaining on the farms.

People talk about ARDA. The country people are sceptical; they believe that ARDA, like the Agricultural Loan, will not benefit the Maritimes. They think that the English will profit from it and that Acadian projects will be ignored in Fredericton.

Emigration and Agriculture: Cocagne, Ste-Marie and St-Norbert

In the south-east the county is less harsh and rough than the north. On the coast, pleasure boats carrying residents of Moncton mingle with fishing boats. There are 200 to 300 chalets in the large Parish of Cocagne, which stretches far to the south and inland. The coast is more friendly; there is no sign of the decay and delapidation of Chockpish and St-Edouard. Buctouche and Cocagne, typical and attractive service centres, are apparently prosperous large market towns.

The agricultural Parish of Ste-Marie situated on the left bank of the Buctouche, seven miles up-stream from the town is the image of an agricultural parish which has reached maturity. The land does not undulate too much, and the farms are laid out in rows. The situation is different at St-Norbert, an inland parish which lies between the valleys of the Buctouche and the Cocagne. The small church is set apart in a clearing and the houses are scattered. People cultivate the land, but the landscape is wild and the area still has a pioneer appearance. For 25 years, the forest has been creeping steadily over the cleared land.

Interview - A parish priest of the area said that he did not worry about rural emigration; he did not think the matter as serious as did his colleague in a neighbouring parish, and he explained that the young people would like to return. Taxes were a serious problem for the farmers - $400 to $500 on a gross income of $2,000. Everything was taxed: land, buildings, animals. The farmer would even pull down an unused barn in order to decrease his assessment.

Interview - Cocagne is a large parish and yet there are only 10 real farmers. According to a parish priest of the area, the criterion for a "real farmer" is one who has 200 to 300 acres of land, a tractor, some sheep and some poultry and who grows strawberries, carrots and potatoes. They sell at the Moncton market or to the villagers.

There are 340 families in Cocagne. The few paupers enumerated are identified as members of mentally deficient families. The natural growth rate is high: 48 births - 26 deaths in 1962, 48 births - 12 deaths in 1963, and 41 births - 10 deaths in 1964. People die at an advanced age; in 1962, 10 of those who died were over 80. However, the demographic growth may change abruptly. Thus, most of the marriages are contracted by young people who have already left the parish for New England and who return to their birthplace to marry. In 1962, out of a total of 14 marriages, 10 were of this type; in 1963, 5 out of 6 and, in 1964, 5 out of 12.

There has been much emigration since 1945. In the last three years 50 young people have left the parish, and 7 or 8 heads of families did so in 1964. People leave to earn money to settle a debt or pay for a boat. They have difficulty in adapting to the urban milieu to which they have emigrated. They work hard, often taking on two jobs at once, but the ready money is there and they have weekends free, and paid holidays. Workers in minor jobs, like garage hands and carpenters, buy powerful cars and return to Cocagne as often as possible. The largest centres for emigration from Kent are Waltham (Mass.) near Boston, Hartford (Conn.) and Gardner (Mass.) 60 miles from Waltham. All three places have French Catholic churches.

Acadieville and the Acadians of the Inland Plain

Turning inland off Highway 11 in Kent County, either at St-Louis on the Kouchibougouacis or at Kouchibougouac on the river which goes by the same name, one quickly forgets the sea. Water-courses diminish in size to the point that one can hop across them in the valleys. Then we reach the plains. A tortuous road, squeezed between two walls of scorched conifers and bordered by farms, leads to Acadieville and to the neighbouring parishes.

Interview - The priest of an inland parish said that the gross population figure had scarcely changed in the last five years (Table 3). The birth rate remained high: 86 baptisms and 22 deaths in the 1961 to 1964 period, giving an average annual increase of 16. The natural rate of increase was thus 22 per cent, taking into account the decrease in the volume of population to a median of 729 persons. The school population was high: 318 children. But here, as elsewhere in the interior of the county, an unfavourable and relatively sudden demographic evolution was to be expected. Thus, the births would mostly be "tail ends of families"; out of 31 weddings celebrated between July 1960 and July 1964, only two couples remained in the parish. The young people emigrate to Waltham, Gardner and Leominster where "We are going to do the work that the Americans do not want to do, and then we come back to show off our car". On the whole, the number of real farmers is rapidly diminishing.

TABLE 3 - DEMOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION OF A KENT PARISH - 1961-1964

Year	Families	Population	Farmers	Workers
1961	125	810	45	80
1962	123	796	25	98
1963	126	-	20	106
1964	120	749	20	100

Interview - Upon the priest's suggestion we met "B", a farmer from Acadieville. About 50, he has been married for 20 years and has brought up 10 children. The eldest, 19 years old, is finishing his classical course; he will become either a brother or a father of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. Two of the children 17 and 6 years old respectively are tubercular.

The farm was started by his grandfather. Out of 210 acres, 65 are cleared. The buildings look old, but are well kept. He had saved $1,000 before his wedding, and he has always held onto this reserve. The gross income of the farm is $3,000, of which $1,400 is in products they consume. There are five dairy animals and 10 sheep. Two cows are used to furnish the family with milk (there are always 15 to 17 persons at meals). One or two cans of cream are "saved" to be sold in Moncton. The milking must be done by hand; the use of a milking machine would not be profitable with less than 10 milk cows. He sells some wool from his sheep, making $26 on a 75-pound bale.

"B" cuts 12 cords of fire-wood and 8 cords of pulp wood. He works by the day with his hay baler in the parish, and follows the same system on a reduced scale with his tractor for the plowing. He was among the first in the parish to acquire a tractor (1946). This farmer keeps an eye on the experiment being carried out in the parish, the growing of Brussels sprouts. He fears that the soil used for growing potatoes will be ruined by the sprinkling of lime on the sprouts, and the rotting of the latter would make the soil unserviceable for 15 to 20 years.

Up at six in the morning, he works until ten o'clock at night during the summer, taking one hour's rest during the afternoon. "One should not work beyond one's capacity", he says. The problem of expanding his farm is a headache: "The money goes to the companies." Where are hands to be found? The young people do not want to work. He is an excellent farmer, though, who has won first, second and third prizes in the parish and the region for grain growing during the past 20 years. He says, "There is no room for small farmers in the agricultural economy."

Inland Acadian and British Population: Adamsville and Harcourt

Inland, on the plain, the Richibuctou River becomes smaller, giving rise to a well dispersed hydrographic system, consisting of the Molus, the Bass, the St-Nicholas, and the Coal Branch rivers. The British penetrated along the waterways, and first settled along their banks; place names bear witness to this. But, across the Newcastle-Moncton road and the parallel railway line, the rivers become mere brooks. This is also the limit of settlement, which borders on a straight road with desolate approaches. The British agricultural area has gone to sleep, and it is a dependent settlement, almost parasitical, which is now the residue of the original settlement.

Interview - The "C's" are former farmers (the husband has been blind for 20 years) and they still live on their own land. Their grandparents came from Scotland (1844-Dumfries in the Lowlands). "They have three children. The two boys live in Fredericton and Moncton; they are not interested in agriculture. It was a good farm, though; 120 acres were cultivated, livestock were bred, and potatoes were grown."

"The neighbours' children are also leaving, and the farms have been abandoned since 1945. There were many Roman Catholics at one time, but now only four or five families remain. The old are dead and the young have left. Although not exactly living in poverty, they are not well off. Family allowances and old age pensions enable them to eat proper food. Taxes are high. People wish that foreign farmers, perhaps Dutch, would reoccupy the territory."

Interview - A Protestant minister takes care of his flock, which is scattered inland. There are 285 Anglicans, accounting for 25 per cent of the British; 10 to 15 per cent are Baptists, and the majority are Presbyterians. The first settlers came from the British Isles. There is intermarriage and a great deal of interrelationship.

The social-economic milieu has collapsed. There is a seasonal movement of population: some emigrate during the summer, and others during the winter, depending upon the work. Education is not very advanced. Grade 8 is completed, but rarely Grade 12. Those obtaining the latter grade return to teach with a local licence. The system of teaching appears to be poor. It does not seem to be subject to official standards.

One discovers a general attitude of discontent. People turn their backs on problems. They reject change; change would involve responsibilities. Leadership is non-existent. The minister shows little optimism for the future. According to him, people should accept a market economy, raise beef cattle and develop the farm woodlots. However, agriculture has flourished before in this area. All one has to do is observe the size of farm buildings and the general appearance of the land at Bryants Corner, Fords Mills, Upper Main River, Targettville, etc. There are still three Protestant churches in Harcourt.

Interview - (An observer) - Adamsville, where the houses line the road and the railway track, contains the residue of Acadian occupation established since 1879 (Free Grants Act). There are 75 families. The traditional Catholic faith of the Acadians is weak here, and 10 families are non-practising. In fact, the lapse is more pronounced: five or six families belong to the Jehovah's Witnesses and two to the Baptists. The non-practising belong mostly to the poorest elements of the parish.

Nineteen marriages have been registered in the past four years: 14 of these couples have emigrated. There are some one hundred children at school. In May 1964, four families, originally from this region, left Ontario and came to settle in Adamsville; little work is done and unemployment insurance is drawn.

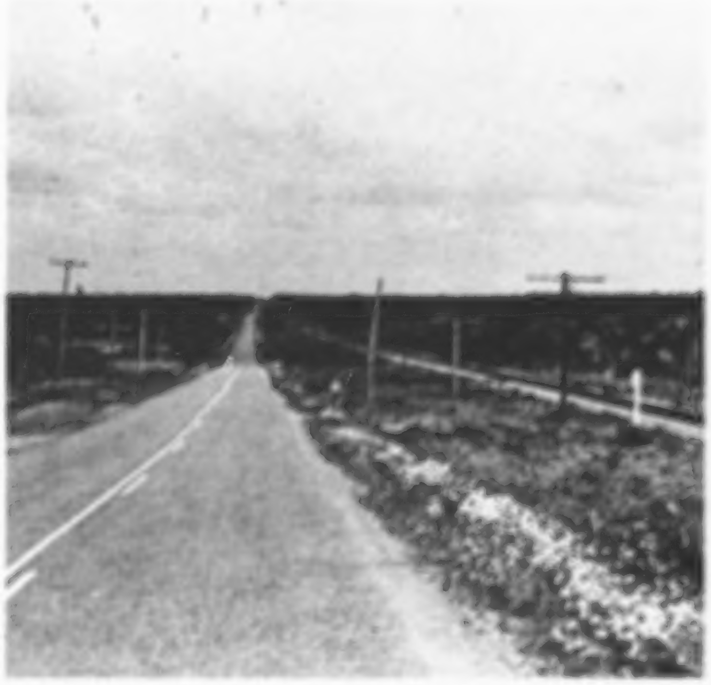


Figure 5. Highway 33 and the Canadian National track - settlement boundary of a socially disintegrated area in a harsh country (Harcourt).

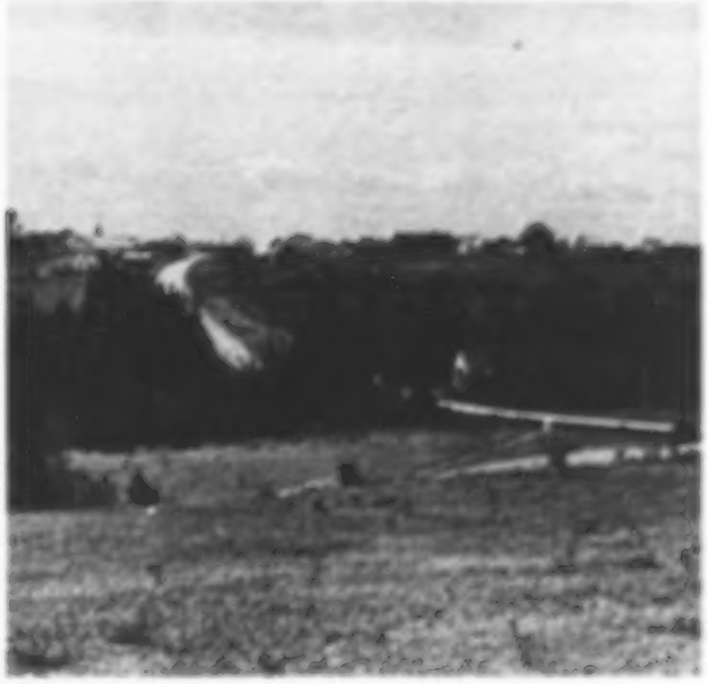


Figure 6. St-Ignace perched on the edge of the narrow Kouchibougouacis valley, 15 miles inland.

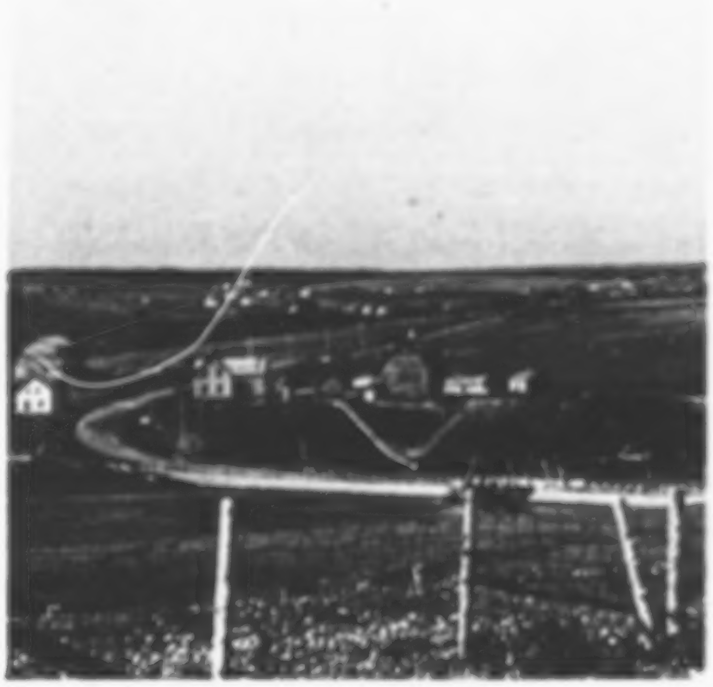


Figure 7. Pleasant Buctouche River valley in the direction of Ste-Marie; an Acadian area of typical family farms.

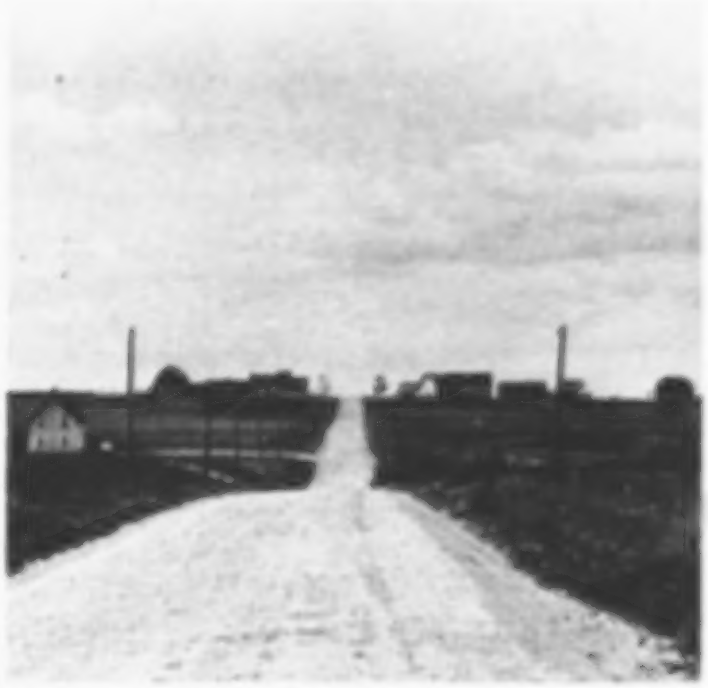


Figure 8. Monotonous countryside between the rivers; St-Norbert: two farms, buildings larger than usual in this area, stand facing each other on the crest of the slope.

Employment is intermittent. Agriculture is out of the question. Manpower is divided between the C.N.R. (only three men) and cutting wood in the forest. Some lumberjacks work regular hours, whereas others set out to work at 9 a.m. and return at 2 or 3 p.m. "Light work" is sought, supposedly on the recommendation of the doctor.

There are several elderly couples living in Adamsville whose financial needs are limited. Nevertheless, there is money in circulation, and people are generous towards the church. The first objective is to buy an old car for $100; 75 per cent have cars, but 75 per cent do not have toilets. And even a higher percentage do not have baths. Nearly everyone has TV. According to observers, the present situation could not possibly get worse and it is largely due to a lack of education.

MAJOR ASPECTS OF REGIONAL LIFE AND POVERTY

A visual geographical approach to the County of Kent does not belie its reputation as a poor county according to Canadian social standards, with low incomes, economic dependence and the lack of amenities. What we have here is a continuum extending from modest means to poverty, both in areas bordering the coastline and in those near the marshy plain and the wastelands of the interior.

Along the coastline the lobster fishermen are fairly well off, but the workers employed in the processing of fish have low incomes (70 cents an hour for women and 80 cents an hour for men). Women make up most of the labour force, and it is often a matter of earning an income supplementary to that of the husband, who may be either a fisherman, an artisan or a labourer. It should be noted that both incomes are generally necessary in order to balance the family budget.

Lobster, the basis of the fishing industry, is not inexhaustible; the season is short (two months) and buyers quickly buy up the catch. Due to the increase in the number of fishermen there has been a corresponding decrease in production per capita. Apart from lobster, catches consist of types of fish of low commercial value. Techniques are geared for small-scale fishing, and are traditional and typical of a large part of the Atlantic coast.

Agriculture is integrated into a subsistence economy which is no longer capable of functioning, since the means of production now have to be bought and family manpower is vanishing through emigration. When the farm is not solely a place of residence, "a bit of everything" is produced, and this naturally does not lead to any great inroads into the urban market of Moncton, and hardly any at all into that of Newcastle-Chatham. Farmers, like fishermen, average in age from 40 to 45.

The forest is gaining ground and a good many farms are deserted; it should be noted of course that the podzols and the cool climate do not offer favourable conditions for agriculture. There is no general shift, however, from agriculture to lumbering. Lumbering in the county does not seem to be regarded as important, since respondents never stressed this during interviews.

The County of Kent is to be classed as a depressed area on the socio-economic level. A high point was reached during the second half of the nineteenth century with the lumber trade and shipbuilding, but since then the county has been on the down grade. It happened slowly at first, until the thirties, then ruthlessly after the 1939-1945 War, at which time rural communities were fragmented.

The County of Kent still lives in the nineteenth century. The drying up of immigration after 1850, the disappearance of ocean traffic, accelerated urbanization (elsewhere) and its accompanying industry, are basic factors which had to lead to the present situation, a situation which is made worse by an excessive and clumsy system of taxation, which in itself is largely a result of the inadequate planning of the school system. The owner of a subsistence farm has to pay taxes at a similar level to that of a Montreal citizen: $400 to $600.

The world of industry and of the machine has bypassed the County of Kent. The consumer market is insignificant from the standpoints of income, the number of consumers, and manpower, 75 per cent of which is largely engaged in primary occupations, has little to offer to the outside employer. Half of the labour force is on welfare for six months of the year; their yearly incomes do not average $2,000. People cling to the region partly due to inertia and fear of the outside world.

Emigration is considerable. In fact, all the vital elements are being lost. It is the answer of the young to felt poverty. Deeply impressed by everything which separates them from the urban standard of living, they will accept a foreign way of life in order to have access to a weekly pay cheque, paid holidays, and cars.

The vigorous response to the tension of the milieu is a systematic emigration at the age of 21. Emigration is facilitated by the fact that relatives, parents and friends and the same parish structure are met with again in Gardner, Leominster and elsewhere. As we are dealing mainly with Acadians, we cannot avoid making the comparison with the emigration of French Canadians from Quebec to New England, which was short of industrial manpower in the last century. French Catholic parishes were also established at that time. The flock and the pastor left together. Ideal conditions were thus created for the departure of the unemployed. And during the July holidays they come and take away those who have stayed behind in jobs considered backward: fishing and agriculture.

The effects of the flow of emigration influence the demographic, social and economic structure. Due to the large-scale departure of the young parents, it may be feared that, within a short time, there will be a marked decrease in the birth rate and an aging of the population. Agriculture and fishing are in the hands of men whose average age is around 40 to 45 years. It should also be noted that more than half of the population are dependent.

The ethnic and linguistic factor sheds more light on the understanding of the milieu. The British, who now account for only 15 per cent of the total population, have traditionally held commerce, shipbuilding and the lumber industry in their hands. When the area was past its peak, at the beginning of the present century, capital was bound to leave for areas which were more favourable to the economy, and leadership naturally followed the same road.

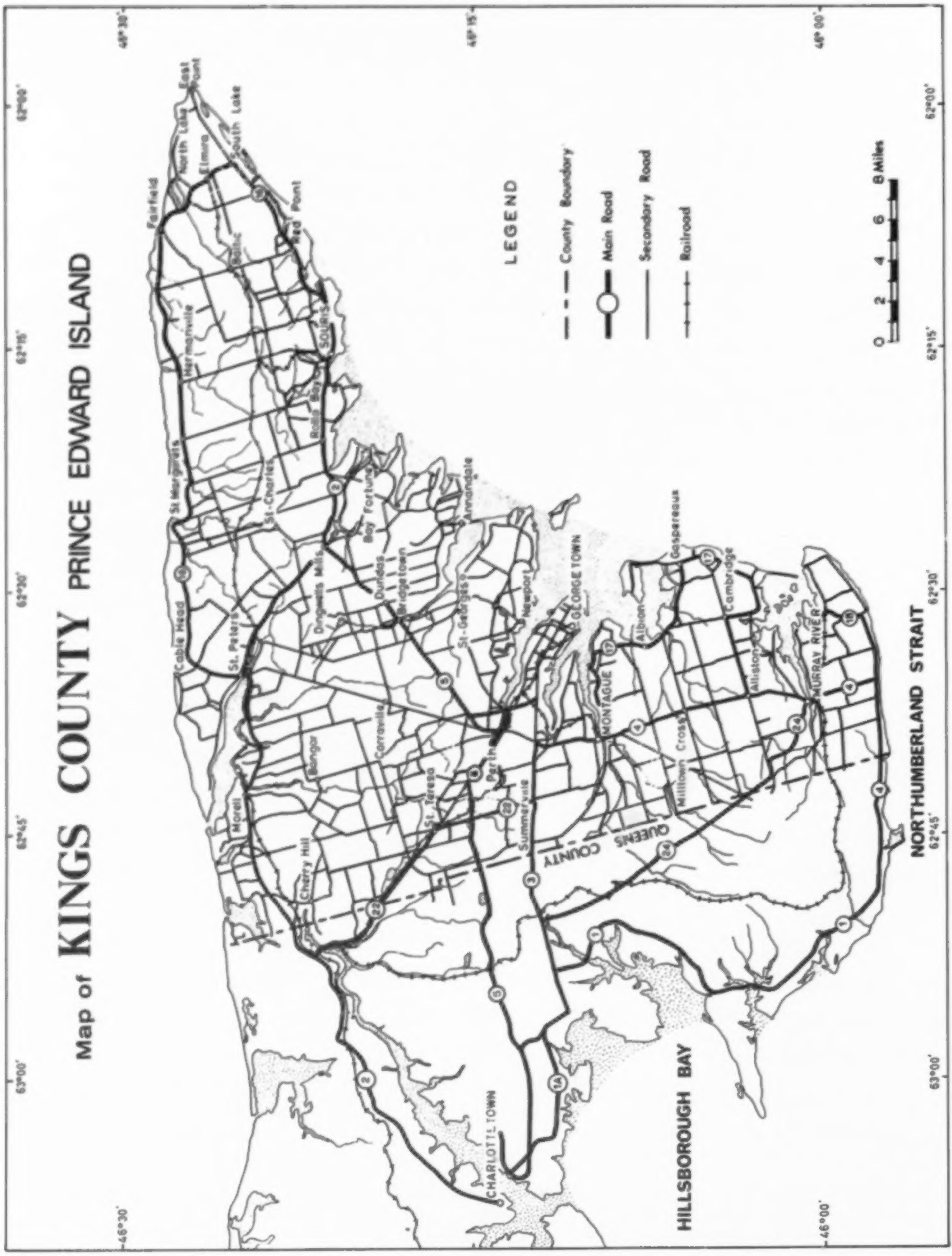
This economic cleavage, where the British held the economy in hand and where the Acadians were reduced to the exploitation of natural resources, is fossilized and only the ethnic and linguistic cleavage remains. The two ethnic groups do not mingle and the geographical milieu is ethnically partitioned. The British are concentrated at Richibuctou and upriver. They also occupy the middle and lower reaches of the Kouchibougouac.

Outside of Richibuctou poverty strikes both groups equally, but the attitudes are different. The rural British disintegrate on the spot without any ado, turned in upon themselves. The phenomenon of social disintegration appears to be attacking them in the back country, at Harcourt in particular. This sector also favours the social disintegration of the Acadians (Adamsville and other parishes), but they are far better protected through their strong parish structure which ties everything to religion, ethnic group, language, and professional occupations (farmers and fishermen).

The favourable role played by co-operation is important. It is this system which makes it possible for Acadian fishermen to maintain themselves and to unscramble technological and market problems. (The social disintegration of the Claire-Fontaine area thus remains an enigma for the observer; other factors besides geographical isolation are operative.)

On the whole, the population of Kent County seems to accept its modest standard of living. The explanations are numerous, and the traditional patience and resignation of the Acadians play an important role. It should also be taken into account that the adults remaining in the area (those over 40) have known much darker days than those of the present time; exploitation by the merchants, scarcity of cash, bad roads, low level of education, etc. Progress is actually felt by them; for the young, however, it is taken for granted. Furthermore, the population does not see the situation in all its crudity and in perspective: the outside world is not well understood and people still live mainly at the level of the local cell, the parish. Finally, for a good number of rural inhabitants, centred on a traditional economy, milieu and way of life are more important than income.

Kent County has already played its main role in the occupation and civilizing of the territory. It is now merely a supernumerary in the economy of New Brunswick. In our contemporary urban and industrial world, the characteristics of its geographical milieu and its location are not in its favour. The milieu is harsh and almost repulsive for someone who was not born there. Leadership is out of the question. In this area, isolated by sea, marshes and forest, the community accept their poverty (although they reject this word) because it is shared by all and seems to be a lasting phenomenon.


Map of KINGS COUNTY PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
LEGEND
County Boundary
Main Road
Secondary Road
Railroad
0 2 4 6 8 Miles
HILLSBOROUGH BAY
NORTHUMBERLAND STRAIT
QUEENS COUNTY
East Point
North Lake
Elmira
South Lake
Fairfield
Red Point
Baltic
Harmonville
SOURIS
Rollo Bay
St. Margarets
St. Charles
Bay Fortune
Annandale
Cable Head
St. Peters
Dingwells Mills
Dundas
Bridgetown
St. Georges
Newport
GEORGETOWN
Gaspereaux
Cambridge
Albion
MONTAGUE
Alliston
MURRAY RIVER
Cross
Milltown Cross
Morell
Bangor
Corraville
St. Teresa
Perth
Summerville
Cherry Hill
CHARLOTTETOWN
46°30'
46°15'
46°00'
63°00'
62°45'
62°30'
62°15'
62°00'

CHAPTER II

KINGS - REDUCED POPULATION, RELATIVELY FAVOURABLE MILIEU

GENERAL INFORMATION

Bio-Physical Setting

The bedrock of Prince Edward Island is composed of horizontal layers of red sandstone, interspersed with red shale (McClellan, Raymond and Rayburn 1963). This sandstone disintegrates rapidly when subjected to the action of climate and erosion; deep and rock-free soil has thus been developed. The major topographical and hydrographical elements antedate the quaternary glaciations. The rolling surface reaches an altitude generally less than 200 feet; there are two hilly areas where the altitude is in the neighbourhood of 450 feet. One is situated in the western part of Queens, and the other extends through both Queens and Kings - the Culloden-Victoria region in the southeast. Flat areas often suffer from excessive drainage and erosion.

Whatever the spot, there is always salt water within less than 10 miles. There are no important watercourses, but a vast network of small rivers and brooks flows into large tidal estuaries. Drowned rivers border the coast on the north, east and south. The northern coast is broken up into sand banks and spits by the powerful waves of the Gulf. Hence, sand hinders ships of a certain tonnage, a factor which partially explains the absence of important centres of population in the north. In Kings, however, the movement of sand has built lagoons, making possible the creation of North Lake and Pointe-Naufrage.

The south-east coast of Kings, in contrast with this flat seaboard, has sheer cliffs measuring 25 feet and more. Local factors are favourable to the creation of ports, and from Souris onwards as far south as Murray Head, the coast is largely opened up by the estuaries of rivers and by bays: Broughton, Cardigan, Montague and Murray. There are choice sites for human habitation: Cardigan, Georgetown, Montague, Murray River.

The greater part of the Island is covered by end moraine, and recent deposits of post-glacial origin consist of sand, muck and peat. Muck is abundant in the numerous little marshes in the eastern part of the Island, which fill in the depressions of the glacial drift mantle, principally in the north of Kings. Man has had to circumvent these unfavourable areas and this factor explains the spotty distribution of agricultural land.

The soils are nearly always podzols generated in a fresh and humid climate. Developed on sandstone, they are red, sandy and free of rock. Permeable, poor in bases and in plant nutrients, with an acidic reaction, they require great care. In the south of Kings, soils classified from good to marginal predominate; water retention capacity is weak.

The north of the county is one step lower: marginal to submarginal with bad drainage and no undulations in the ground. The best soils are rarely concentrated in large areas, with the exception of the Souris region. Here we have well-drained sandy and clay loams spread over undulating terrain.

In spite of the presence of the sea, the climate of the Island is continental rather than maritime. Winters are long and cold, the summers are cool, and precipitation heavy. The frost-free period is long (156 days at Georgetown - May 14 to October 19) and it rains every other day. The Island is a choice area for the passage of masses of air typical of eastern Canada: medium latitude cyclonic storms, masses of continental polar air, masses of humid subtropical air. The climate is thus variable. Sunshine, cloudiness, rain or snow, short periods of stability, come one after the other.

This climate is not in any way hostile to man, and favours dairy farming and the growing of excellent potatoes (sandy soils). The herds are favoured by short stalling and by pastures which preserve a high nutritional value over a long period. On the whole, the situation of Prince Edward Island and the favourable elements of site, relief, soils and climate, should have favoured rapid settlement.

Settlement and Agriculture

Although Prince Edward Island had been known to Europeans since the sixteenth century, it remained undisturbed until the beginning of the eighteenth century, preserving a heavy deciduous and coniferous forest cover. The French period was barely felt through the seasonal presence of fishermen and by a modest farming project conceived to provide the fortress at Louisbourg with food after the loss of Acadia in 1713. Settlers came to the Hillsborough valley, between Port-la-Joie (Charlottetown) and Bay-Saint-Pierre, and grew peas and wheat. In 1756 the census showed 5,000 Frenchmen, the majority of whom were Acadian refugees.

The British took possession of the Island after the Seven Years War, when many military men and aristocrats were demanding tangible favours from the Government. The official agency responsible for the administration of the Island (Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantation) then divided the territory into 67 lots and three town sites. In 1766 the adjudication was made to the most "deserving" by means of a lottery.

For more than 100 years this system was to be the major obstacle preventing occupation. Property was concentrated in the hands of absentee landlords, speculation flourished, and regulations were not respected. There was constant tension between the occupants and the landlords. Land problems and the bad organization of the territory rapidly led to a decrease in the immigrants. Those who had some savings, farming experience and initiative wasted no time in crossing to the mainland.

They left the place to the crofters dislodged from the Highlands, to the Irish chased from home by famine, and to the courageous but empty-handed Acadians.

In 1798 the population barely reached 4,372, which was less than at the peak of the French period (5,000 people in 1756). In 1797 half of the lots were still, for all practical purposes, unoccupied by man. In general, the landlords did not bother about ensuring settlement. The population was scattered along the Hillsborough River and along Malpeque Bay. Agriculture was the only activity.

In the course of the nineteenth century, in spite of unfavourable factors for settlement there, the woes of the British were such that they emigrated in great numbers from Europe. The greatest influx was made up of Scots and Irish; these arrived mainly from the thirties and forties onwards, and thus, around 1880, the census showed that half of the inhabitants of the Island were of Scots descent, and one quarter of Irish descent.

A prosperous agriculture now extended from Malpeque Bay (north-west) to Orwell Bay (south-east) and the best lands had been taken up in the counties of Kings and Queens. Prince was unattractive, and occupation by the Acadians and the Irish occurred later. Settlement was irregular in Kings; the main concentrations were at Souris and Three Rivers, wood processing centres. With the exception of Charlottetown (11,000 people) and of Summerside (1,000 people), the population was rural. There were no villages of more than 100 inhabitants. Agriculture was still the main activity, while fishing and forestry had made their appearance as part-time complementary activities.

But, towards the end of the century the immigration period ended, and the influx was now to be replaced by an exodus. The year 1891 represented a peak; there were 109,000 inhabitants on the Island: in 1931 there remained only 88,000. During the same 40-year period the volume of urban population was to swell from 14,000 to 20,000 inhabitants. The countryside was thus the reservoir for emigrants. Also, 1891 was the time of the maximum area of cleared land and the largest number of counted farms. After 1931 the population growth was to figure only in terms of the urban milieu and non-agricultural rural occupations. The diminution of the economic crisis and the increase in the post-war birth rate explain the subsequent increase in the size of population.

At the turn of the century all the land was occupied. People were drawn to the West. And after 1900 came economic stagnation: the forest reserves were reduced and sailing ships were no longer built. Local craftsmanship could not withstand the competition of mass production. The transition from an agricultural subsistence economy to a market economy handicapped the Island, isolated as it was from the large consumer markets (Clark 1959).

Population decreased in all regions, and emigrants left for Boston and for the textile towns of New England; after the war of 1914-18 people also left for urban and industrial Ontario. The sons and grandsons of the Scottish and Irish immigrants, who in the long run had little affinity for agriculture, had no qualms about leaving their settlement. These two groups accounted for 68 per cent of the volume of population in 1881. In 1951 they accounted for only 51 per cent, a decrease in favour of the English (20 to 30 per cent) and the Acadians (10 to 15 per cent).

Since the beginning of the development of the Island, agriculture has been the basis of the way of life and of economic activity. In the nineteenth century the cash crop was based upon hay and cereals. This situation lasted until cereals from the West reached the Maritimes and, along with this, the American market for hay disappeared (1900). The orientation of agriculture then had to change to mixed and dairy farming. The change is logical: cream is converted into butter and cheese for the ~~market, skimmed milk is used~~ for rearing pigs and calves, and the cattle live on hay and pasture.

It must be pointed out that sheep raising was considerably reduced, occupying only the areas with poor and arid soil. Finally, since the small size of the farms did not make it possible to obtain a large enough income solely from dairy farming, the growing of potatoes was taken up. Each farmer cultivates his own small piece of land and large spreads are the exception.

With the rise in incomes and the increase in the non-agricultural rural and urban populations, the growing of fruit and vegetables was also started. A packing company, established in 1963 at Montague, now freezes fruits and vegetables: Brussels sprouts, peas, carrots, strawberries and corn. Two hundred workers are employed.

With regard to the establishment of raising beef cattle, the decrease of manpower and the expansion of farms are causal factors. On the whole, it also seems that production has been stimulated, in the course of recent years, by federal aid policies for the transportation of production goods and market products. Taxes are not as heavy as in New Brunswick; the rate for a well-equipped 200-acre farm is about $150.

Development plans are also rationalized, and production is growing. For instance, potato growing has become highly mechanized, and insecticides and fertilizers are used abundantly. This progress does not modify the agrarian structures, and the fundamental unit remains the small farm with mixed farming. The rural population continues to dwindle away. Kings County is the hardest hit, in marked contrast with the prosperous centre of the Island.

Agricultural development has naturally led to the disappearance of a large part of the forest cover. It consisted of quality timber with beech, sugar maple and yellow birch predominant among the deciduous trees, and cedar, spruce, fir and tamarack characterizing the conifers. The second growth is of a very inferior quality, the main varieties being spruce, Canada balsam and silver birch.

Two-fifths of the Island is still covered with forest, and two-thirds of the lumber is spruce and Canada balsam. This commercial forest has always been situated at both extremities of the Island, in Prince and Kings. The latter county stands out. There, as elsewhere, the forest belongs to small landowners, and the lumber sold on the market comes from farm lots. Government has little control over their exploitation, and management is poor. There is excessive wood cutting, and good stands are often replaced by shrubs and brushwood.

Ninety ships were launched in 1860, but this is now only a memory. The forest has assumed a minor role in the economy. It represents barely 2 per cent of agricultural income: Christmas trees, firewood, pulp wood and lumber. Small sawmills are scattered about, furnishing local small-scale undertakings which produce boats for lobster fishing, lobster-traps and boxes.

Population

The population of Kings County numbered only 17,893 persons in 1961, or 17 per cent of the total population of the Island (104,629) compared with 39 per cent for Prince and 44 per cent for the central County of Queens (Table 4). Kings thus stands clearly apart from the two other counties. The dichotomy is more marked when the interrelation is made between population and area. Kings, which has a markedly smaller area than both Prince and Queens has a density of only 28 (641 sq. miles); the figures for the other two counties are respectively 53 (778 sq. miles) and 60 (765 sq. miles).

The rural-urban interplay is evidently largely responsible for this difference: only 15 per cent of the population in Kings is urban, but 24 per cent in Prince and 47 per cent in Queens. With the exception of Souris (1,537 persons), the towns of the county are closer to villages: Montague (1,126 persons), Georgetown (744 persons). In Prince, the population of Summerside accounts for 8,611 persons all by itself. Whereas in Queens, the central county, the capital Charlottetown dominates with 18,318 persons, which is higher than the total population of Kings. Finally, the villages of Parkdale and of Sherwood comprise more than 3,000 inhabitants.

TABLE 4 - POPULATION OF P.E.I. COUNTIES - 1901-1961

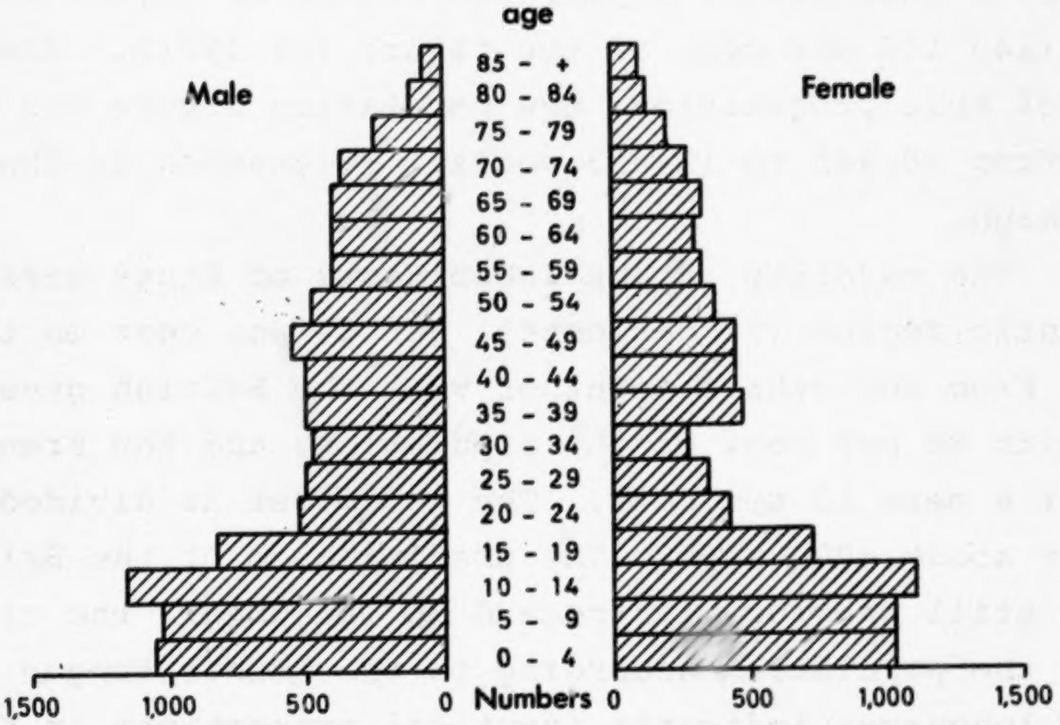
Year	P.E.I.	Kings	Prince	Queens
1901	103,259	24,725	34,400	43,134
1911	93,728	22,636	32,779	38,313
1921	88,615	20,445	31,520	36,650
1931	88,038	19,147	31,500	37,391
1941	95,047	19,415	34,490	41,142
1951	98,429	17,943	37,735	42,751
1956	99,285	17,853	38,007	43,425
1961	104,629	17,893	40,894	45,842

After the lean period of the twenties and thirties the total population of the Island regained and even surpassed, in 1961, the level of 1901. The improvement in the situation is due to the evolution of the counties of Prince and Queens; in 1961 the population of Kings was barely 72 per cent of the 1901 volume, and there has been a marked stagnation since 1921.

Now, let us look at the structure of the population. In Kings, according to the demographic definition, adults (20-59 years) account for 40 per cent of the population, the young (0-19 years) 44 per cent, and elderly people (60 years and over) 16 per cent. The ratio of dependence is thus very high, namely 60/40.

If an adult is defined as one who is theoretically at work in a rural milieu with a simple economy (15-64 years) the ratio of dependence decreases to 51, or 36 per cent for the young (0-14 years) and 14 per cent for elderly people (65 years and over).

The ratio of males is usually high in a county with extensive emigration: 113 per cent in 1961, compared with 112 per cent in 1951. The comparison with the counties of Prince (respectively 106 and 106) and Queens (99 and 100) is significant.



AGE — SEX PYRAMID

KINGS COUNTY — 1961

The age pyramid reflects the major phenomena. The shrinking at the base of the pyramid at the level of the 0-4 and 5-9 age groups corresponds with a drop in the birth-rate due to the departure of the procreators in the 20-34 age groups. The shrinkage is marked in these three five-year groups. On the other hand, the 50-74 years old classes show a remarkable stability, especially the 55-59, 60-64, and 65-69 groups among the men. Part of the explanation is to be found in the return of the emigrants when they retire, a factor which adds to a relatively high longevity.

The departure of the procreators has succeeded in keeping down the rate of natural increase in Kings for a long time. It will suffice to list a few rates: 11 per 1,000 population in 1922, 10 in 1931, 7 in 1941, 14 in 1951, 14 in 1960. Even at such modest rates an over-all calculation indicates a natural increase of 9,000 to 9,500 people for the 1921-1961 period, or a theoretical population figure of 28,500 to 29,000 in 1961 (140-145 per cent of the figure for 1921). However, instead of this progression, the population figure has decreased from 20,445 to 17,893 souls. Emigration is thus extremely high.

The majority of the inhabitants of Kings were born in the Atlantic region (96 per cent), and 87 per cent on the Island. From the ethnic point of view the British group dominates with 86 per cent of the population, and the French account for a mere 10 per cent. The remainder is divided, and there are about 400 Dutch. The predominance of the British group is still growing with regard to language: the classification of the population according to the mother tongue and the official languages indicates identical proportions in Kings, namely 98 per cent for English language and 2 per cent for the French language. Out of a total of 1,838 persons, it would appear that 1,623 Acadians no longer speak their mother tongue. (This estimate seems rather high to us.)

There is a greater diversity at the religious level, where Roman Catholics account for 51 per cent of the population. The Protestants share most of the other half, which amounts to 42 per cent of the total and covers three denominations, namely the United Church (23 per cent), the Presbyterians (12 per cent) and the Baptists (7 per cent).

The splitting up of the labour force in Kings County according to industries shows 48 per cent (2,720), 19 per cent (1,086) and 33 per cent (1,856) for the primary, secondary and tertiary levels respectively. The primary level is essentially linked to agriculture (1,757) and to fishing (880). At the secondary level there are 847 persons in the processing industry and 239 persons in construction. Primary and secondary foster the tertiary, where commerce and services predominate with 1,172 persons.

The division of manpower along occupational lines emphasizes the low technological level: farmers, fishermen, labourers and fisheries workers account for about 3,700 persons out of the total of 5,662, or 65 per cent of the whole. With regard to the balance, the minor employees predominate (clerks, salesmen, etc.) and the liberal professions, technicians and administrators account for 626 persons.

The examination of manpower according to employment justifies the regrouping of the 15-64 age classes which were previously chosen to determine the numbers of active population. The relation can thus be made for the men between a total of 4,129 (15-64 years) and a manpower (15 years and over) of 4,565 persons. The difference between the two figures corresponds largely to workers aged 65 and over, mostly fishermen and farmers. (Of course, the same comparisons cannot be made for women.)

On June 1, 1961, practically the entire labour force was at work in Kings, but incomes were low: 43 per cent of the salaried labour force (1,340 persons out of 3,126) earned less than $1,000 for the 12 months prior to the above date, and 91 per cent earned less than $3,000; for the men this means 83 per cent of the total number, and for the women, 95 per cent. The short periods of employment accentuate the meagreness of the salaries.

People do not work for long in Kings: 43 per cent of the men and women worked for less than six months, and 18 per cent of the men and women for less than four months. Permanent work appears to be the privilege of a small number, and only 40 per cent of the manpower is occupied for from 40 to 52 weeks. The seasonal nature of employment is easily explained by the nature of the economic activities: the greater part of the labour force is in employment linked in one way or another with fish-processing and marketing.

RURAL MILIEU AND AGRICULTURE

Agriculture along the Souris Coast - Prosperous Area

The Souris coast is a four-mile wide ribbon which runs for 30 miles between Boughton Bay and East Point. Half of the area has been cleared for cultivation, abandoned land is rare, and it is one of the most prosperous agricultural areas in the county. Cultivation extends practically without a break along the fringe of the Northumberland Strait. The undulating ground has not hindered the development of soils which compare favourably with those of the centre of the Island. For the majority of farmers, agriculture is a permanent occupation, and is not combined with fishing.

In order to increase their potato-growing area, farmers cultivate the abandoned land of the interior. The region has specialized for several years in the growing of seed potatoes. Potatoes cover 10 per cent of the area under cultivation. Cattle raising is also important, and fodder growing is better developed than in the entire north of the county. Cream is sent to Morell and Charlottetown, and some of the whole milk goes to Souris. Scenically, the Souris coast is one of the most beautiful coastal areas of the Island, and the well kept farms and the fields under cultivation blend harmoniously with the sand beaches and the sea.

Interview - Reverend "D" is the minister of a parish created in 1830 in the midst of a well-established community on the Souris coast. At the present time there are 530 persons or 135 families with an average of 3 to 4 children.

People have been established for five or six generations, and some 15 persons are over 80. Besides the Scots, there are a few Irish and English and two Dutch families.

Some 30 men fish, and 20 of them do this exclusively. Agriculture is the men's prime occupation. The economic unit of cultivation consists of 100 acres of potatoes, another has 80, five or six have 35 to 40 acres, and several have 20 to 25 acres; the smallest are from 9 to 15 acres. Those who have dairy cattle sell their milk in Charlottetown and the cream in Morell. The farms belonging to childless couples and to single people are gradually absorbed. The young people like farming.

Socially, the parish is relatively closed, even though television and cars have recently given them some contact with the world. People take part collectively in showers, weddings, and funerals. People are married in the parish and strangers are not well received. There is no drinking, owing to religious instruction and social pressure. People fear abrupt social and economic changes.

Two generations back, it was Massachusetts which attracted the emigrants from South Lake: Boston, Nantucket, Quincy. Today people leave for Ontario and even British Columbia as clerks, salesmen, construction workers, truck drivers or teachers. Girls go in particularly for domestic work and teaching (Ontario and New England).

Interview - "E", whose farm is situated at the eastern approach to Souris, has 51 head of Holsteins and Ayrshires, 20 of which are being milked. He is also experimenting with fattening eight Shorthorn steers. His farm is divided into 110 acres of cleared land, of which 22 acres are used for growing potatoes, and there are 18 acres of standing timber, mostly fir trees. The farmer referred to the fluctuation of the price of potatoes, saying, "There is fairly good competition". He sells his whole milk in Souris. (We were told elsewhere that "E" is a better than average farmer.)

Interview - "F" is an East Baltic farmer. His father formerly ran a sawmill in Scotstown in the Eastern Townships, Quebec, and came to practise the same work here. He had 13 children and died at the age of 80. He acquired 1,300 acres of land which now belong to the two brothers, "F" and "X". Out of this large area, 400 acres are cleared and 60 acres are used for growing potatoes.

A table potato is grown which also meets the requirements for seed potatoes. The regular yield is 400 bushels per acre, and fertilizers are used at the rate of one ton per acre. The 60 acres under cultivation gave a yield equivalent to 100 acres in 1945. One man is permanently employed, and five or six are employed at harvest time. Up-to-date equipment is used.

There are no production problems, but prices are too variable. There are 75 buyers on the Island and it is advisable to do business with one of them when purchasing fertilizer, in view of services to be obtained later in marketing. An agreement is thus reached with one of them to sell (at a price fixed on the first of May) that part of the harvest whose value corresponds to the credit allowed for the purchase of fertilizer.

Before the First Great War the north side of the Island had a population made up of large families. The Roman Catholic Scots had their fun without remorse. For instance, the countryside was lively in Glencorradale and Greenvale (Township 46) which was settled mainly by Scots. Fifty years ago families had many children. At the time of military conscription, a great number of the young people enlisted. After that war, those who returned were no longer interested in agriculture. A mass emigration took place first to Boston, and then to Ontario. Nonetheless, soils are of prime quality here. (The soil map bears this out.) Travelling along the country roads of Glencorradale and Greenvale one notices immense stretches of fallow fields, practically all the farms have been abandoned. In East Baltic, the neighbouring community, the majority of the people are drawing their old age pension. If the present movement continues, a farmer points out, his family will be alone in 10 years from now.

Agriculture in the Interior and North - Depressed Area

The eastern forest belt extends from St. Peters Bay to the west, and as far as North Lake to the east. Some forest still remains open to commercial exploitation in the interior, but the wooded areas along the coastline are deteriorating and are sometimes closer to brush than to forest. In many areas the soil for agriculture is inadequate, and soils with poor holding capacity adjoin soils with bad drainage. Some pockets of excellent soil exist however (sandy loams which are as fertile as those of Charlottetown).

Farms are being dispersed, and large strips of forest cover what was once open land. Sheep are being raised; potato growing is becoming secondary. Farmers have begun to grow fodder which is often mediocre in quality like that grown on open prairie. Blueberry patches are being set up on abandoned lands. Near the northern coastline you travel on the new road ("Roads to Resources" program) through sad and monotonous scenery mainly conifers, rendered still worse by housing in ill repair.

Interview - Father "H" is at St-Charles parish, in the interior, to the north-west of Souris. An exception in the county, this parish is 60 per cent Acadian. At first it was even called New Acadia (founded in 1896). At the present time, there are 80 families or 342 inhabitants. Fifth grade is the general level of education for those over 30. The children are lively. There is no marriage of close relatives. Physical and mental health are good, and there are no signs of hereditary defects.

The breadwinners are mainly farmers and labourers. Only a few heads of families fish for a living. The average age of the farmers is 51. Only six are less than 40 years old. Farms average less than 100 acres. Children are raised to take over the work. The complementary occupations of mixed farmers are: labourer (3), fisherman (2) and school bus driver (1). It should be emphasized that the average age of mixed farmers is only 39 years. The average age of retired farmers is 78. People are tired of surveys made by private consultants under the authority of ARDA, and something concrete is asked for.

The group of day-labourers in the parish is almost as large as that of the farmers. Their average age is 38. The day-labourers work in the fish processing factories at Souris. Twenty women from the parish also work in these factories. They are for the most part the wives or the daughters of day-labourers. The wives of good farmers do not do any outside work.

The six full-time fishermen have an average age of 50. Fishing occupies them for from six to eight months. They sometimes cut a little wood. Shipwreck Point or Fortune are the home ports for most of them. For those who practise a trade, specialization is diversified: carpenter, mechanic, bus driver, truck driver. Their average age is above 50.

According to the priest, the day-labourers and the woodcutters have an inadequate standard of living and their houses are in ill repair. There is apparently no felt poverty, though, and people find that everything is improving; they have had electricity for only the past six years, the telephone for five years, and the paved highway for two years. Those who have toilets remain the exception, but running water is beginning to be installed. There is a lot of buying on credit.

Interview - Father "I" is a priest at St. Margaret's parish situated north of St-Charles. He points out that 25 families are elderly pensioned couples, and that the local inhabitants are drawing more and more from various government grants. He also points out that the Scots, who came from the Highlands, were not born farmers. People like the "old way of life", but this does not enable them to buy the comforts of modern life: electricity, telephone, cars, tractors. Reference was made to the "fiddle and moonshine spirit" of past generations.

Interview - "J", about 45, is a native of New Brunswick, where he ran a garage. He has been interested in the growing of soft fruit since 1937. He has no children, and his wife is Franco-American. He has settled near the coast in the parish of St. Margaret.

"J" has been growing strawberries for three years. He began with 1,000 plants, and now has 8,000 plants distributed over three acres (Sparkle variety). The normal production is 10,000 boxes per acre, which are bought on the spot at 18 cents per box, of which five cents is for the picking. The 20-odd pickers can earn $8 per day during the short harvesting period (July 20 to August 5). He will develop five more acres for growing strawberries, and refers to the work done by some 50 farmers at Mount Stewart, some of whom grow up to 20 acres. There is a co-operative in that area and there is also one in Pisquid.

"J", however, gives most of his attention to growing blueberries. He is the blueberry pioneer on the Island, and has at the present time 600 acres of land adapted for blueberry growing; 400 acres are in production. The land is burnt the first year, and harvesting takes place the following year. If one waits for a second-year harvest, there is a risk of only obtaining 25 per cent of the volume of the preceding year. The picking period lasts three weeks, from the last week in August to September 20. Fifty young people are hired at 2 cents per pound in a good field ($10 per day). The production is sold to a cannery in Summerside, which freezes the blueberries and markets them in Boston.

"J" had been readying the soil for 11 years. The land was bought at $12 per acre, and the clearing cost $60 per acre, for a total cost of $72 per acre. At the present time the best land produces one ton per acre and grosses $320. Within six years the yield will increase to two tons per acre and within 10 years to three tons. According to him a family could live off an area of 100 acres while gradually reaching a yield of one ton per acre, for a gross income of $16,000.

NOTE: A few days later we were present at the meeting of a dozen or so farmers who wanted to organize a 400-acre blueberry farm as a co-operative. The land was to be bought from "J". A yield of 800 to 1,000 pounds per acre would be obtained in 1967. They would like to make this an ARDA project.

COASTLINE AND FISHING

Two Fishing Villages on the North Coast

North Lake and Shipwreck Point are two fishing harbours which have been able to cling to the coast thanks to the formation of lagoons. These lagoons are an essential protection against the battering by the waves of the Gulf, and only a narrow channel links them with the sea. Furthermore, these

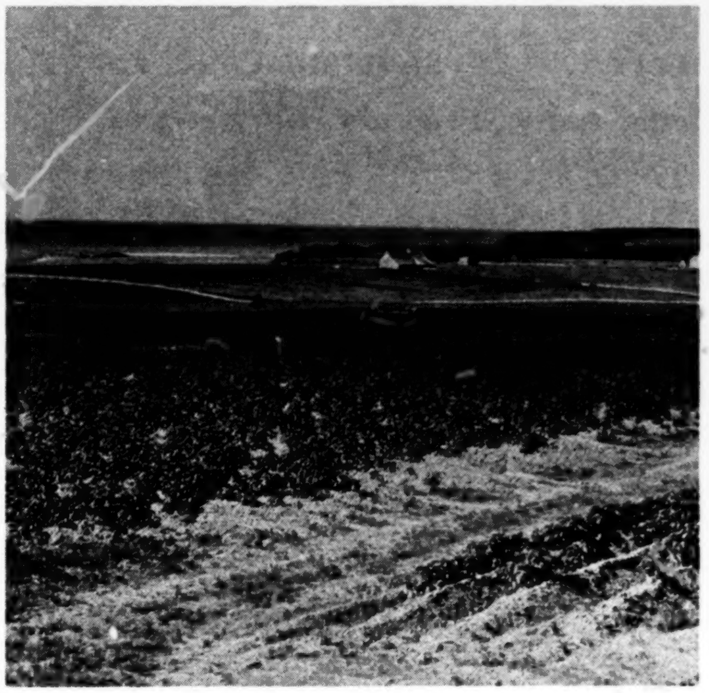


Figure 9. Soils in Kingsboro, along the eastern coastline north-east Prince Edward Island, high quality and similar to those of the fertile zone of the Island centre; potato fields and prosperous farms fringe the sea.

Figure 10. Mixed farm - North Lake area in the north-east of the Island; farming done by father and son.

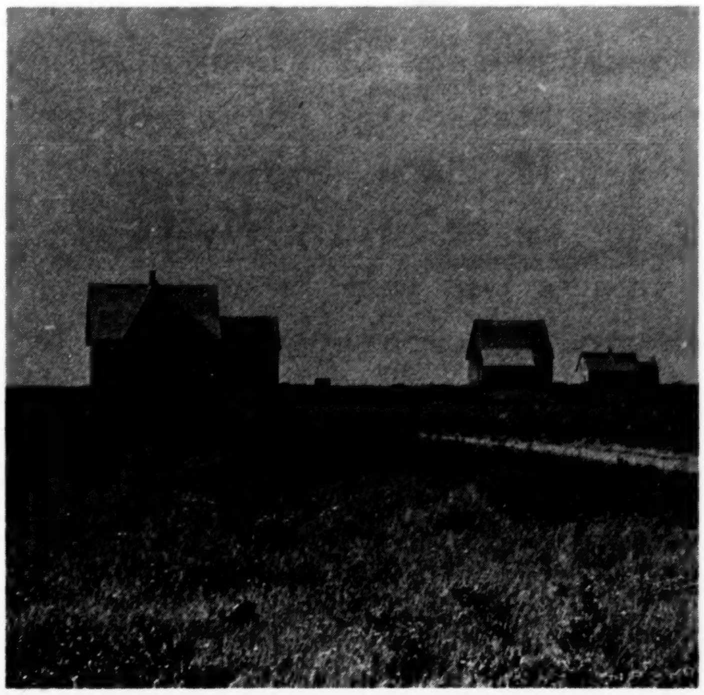


Figure 11. Farmers along northern coastline of the north-east of the Island are abandoning their land and emigrating; deserted farms are strung out like a string of beads (Hermanville).

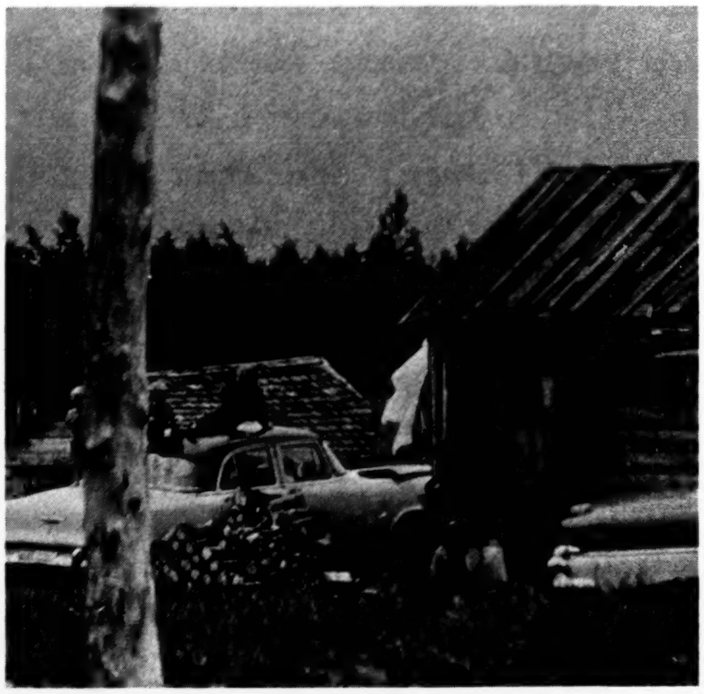


Figure 12. Generally low living standards in Kings County; phenomena of social disintegration appear mainly in certain spots; many misfits located in Brownstown.

are practically the only places, from St. Peters Bay to East Point where fishermen are concentrated. It is thus easy to understand that the latter come from many localities in the county. In North Lake there are 97 lobster "boats", 60 from Souris, 7 from Mary River, 7 from Sancta Monica and 23 from North Lake itself. (The number of fishermen is increasing; 20 years ago there were only 50 to 60 of them.) Fishing is carried out in 12 fathoms of water between East Point and 10 miles to the west of North Lake. The last three years have been good, with catches from 8,000 to 15,000 pounds, and 20,000 pounds for certain fishermen (two-man boat). A single fisherman using 400 pots, and a crew of two, can land from 800 to 1,000 pounds. Expenses are about 35 per cent of gross. After the lobster season (May 1 to June 30) cod is caught during the summer and mackerel during the autumn, until November. Many buyers have set themselves up near the fish-ponds and the landing docks. Competition appears to be fierce: outbidding each other (5 cents per pound) has been the rule over the past two years. There seems to be a superabundance of fishermen.

Interview - An Irish lobster fisherman, father of seven children, operated a trawler for 12 years, with Souris as his home port. He earned a net income of barely $1,500 - $2,000 with a catch of one million pounds per year. Losses accumulated and the work was exhausting. Compared with this, lobster fishing is mere play. He is also of the opinion that the level of wages is inadequate in the fish factories in Souris.

Interview - A labourer at the fish-pond, with a "cork" (fishermen's helper), said that he does not like fishing and is not satisfied with the income on the Island. He seems bitter. The "cork" is happy. He used to work in Montreal. He had made $1,000 fishing over the past two months.

Interview - A dining-hall cook, aged about 50, works from 4:30 a.m. to 9 p.m., and says she is very tired. Her wages are low. When she was young, she used to gather Irish moss on the beach after storms. She would thus earn $200 to $400 a summer (5 to 6 cents a pound, dried).

Shipwreck Point has a similar appearance to North Lake, but the milieu is less agreeable and the houses have been neglected. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that the fishing season is almost finished and that in general the housing is temporary, but these factors also apply to North Lake.

Interview - A small fisherman said that fishing is done in about 14 fathoms, seven miles to either side of Shipwreck Point. There are 200 persons working here, and hardly 40 per cent stay in the area during the entire year. There are 85 boats and four-fifths of them are manned by two men. The harbour is organized to handle only 40 boats. It seems that there are too many fishermen. A single fisherman uses 350 lobster pots and a two-man team 1,000 lobster pots, giving respective catch volumes of 6,000 and 12,000 to 14,000 pounds of lobster (these figures are given without endorsing them). There are six buyers.

The south-east coast has the greatest proportion of the Island's lobster fishermen, but the only factory in the area is in Souris. Some 200,000 pounds of lobster are processed there, but 800,000 pounds go to New Brunswick. If the Island were to keep its lobster the processing would employ 500 persons. The Nova Scotia market price holds sway at the present time. The New Brunswick buyers are said to be trying to corner the entire local production. Several lobster fishermen in Souris also grow potatoes. Last year this represented a possible $5,000 added to an average earning of $5,000 obtained through fishing.

Interview - "K" is a fish buyer from New Brunswick. There is a superabundance of fishermen; an annual increase of 2 to 5 per cent. He considers that the number of licences should be frozen for five years, during which time the situation could be studied. The fellow with 1,000 lobster pots does not make any more money than the fellow with 400 lobster pots. Expenses are in the order of 50 per cent. The companies which equip the small boats for fishing retain 50 per cent of the value of the catches and, in spite of this, they do not make money. Some seasons are hard on the boats. Barely 10 per cent of the lobsters are "large", or over one pound; the weight of the large lobsters varies generally from two to three pounds. The transportation cost to New Brunswick is one cent per pound.

It is mostly the fishermen who live in the area who fish during the autumn (about 50 per cent of the total number). The north coast is poorly sheltered, and fishing is generally done on 3 or 4 days a week. One thousand pounds of round fish per day is a good catch, or 3,000 to 4,000 pounds per week. Three to 3½ cents is paid for round cod and 2½ cents for dried cod. The best period for cod is from mid-September to the end of October and into November, weather permitting. The small fish is sent to Souris, and the large fish, salted on the spot, is sold in Nova Scotia. Autumn fishing enables the fishermen to make a "salary" (profit) after writing off depreciation. Two men have shared $120 per week, subtracting about $20 for expenses at the source. Finally, it is pointed out that salaries in the fish processing industry are higher here than in New Brunswick, but that the manpower is better there. There is a trend to consolidate small lobster packing firms.

Industrial Fishing at Souris

Until recently commercial fishing at Souris landed 75 per cent of the ground fish caught off the Island. Most of the fish supplies two factories and their produce is marketed in Boston. Both companies work in close collaboration, particularly to avoid the congestion of factories when the trawlers are working full time.

One of these factories opened in 1941 with small-scale coastal fishing, and the deep sea fishing boats were put into service only in 1956. This is the largest factory belonging to "natives" of the Island, in this case Acadians.

Nineteen trawlers service the two companies at the port of Souris. Five are steel trawlers financed by the federal government. The others are 65-foot wooden trawlers. The owners of 13 ships live in the area. The 65-foot trawlers fish in the Gulf, whereas the 125-foot trawlers cruise to the Banks. Operations come to a halt during the winter due to ice. Crews are made up of 6 or 7 and 13 men respectively. There are "weekend men", namely fishermen who return home during the weekend to the detriment of their trade. A random comparison was made, with the use of invoices, of weekly entries (gross value of catches):

$ 599 - 5 days at sea - 65-foot trawler
$2,639 - 9 days at sea - 65-foot trawler
$7,000 - 7 days at sea - 125-foot trawler.

One of the companies wants to obtain two 100-foot trawlers. Their price in Georgetown is $350,000. In British Columbia the price is $90,000 less. The federal government will assist financially, only if the trawlers are built in Georgetown. The company, as in the past, may have to turn to the Industrial Development Bank and buy outside. The purchase of these trawlers will give work to 70 more persons.

The factory processes more than 19 million pounds of fish per year, cod (800,000), hake (600,000), haddock (200,000), sole (160,000) and rosefish (150,000). Two-thirds of the raw material is waste and sub-products (fish flour). In the main, frozen blocks of 10 to 13.5 pounds and frozen fillets (1 pound) are prepared. The fish flour is sold profitably in Toronto and in Montreal. Lobster is also canned and distributed.

During the season 150 women and 100 men are employed. Half of the labour force is from Souris, the other half is from outside; St-Charles and Rollo Bay are good sources of labour. People also come from Mount Stewart. The factory is busy from mid-May until Christmas. The workers recruited include a good number of rural people and small farmers who need the income. There is no health insurance for the workers, but a pension fund will be set up in 1966; the Government will pay the largest share. Some workers, 15 per cent, have been at the factory since 1950. Others are leaving Souris for Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton. "The young (16 to 21 years of age) are leaving, but not the old people."

Nevertheless, several projects are being talked about in Souris. There is mention of a project for a refrigeration plant for fruit and vegetables. A start will be made with strawberries, and later beans will be added. The workers' families will be able to farm. One hundred farms will be occupied. There is also mention of a brewery (there is none on the Island), of an industry to package potatoes in 10-pound bags instead of 75-pound bags, and an industry for the processing of seal skins. Mackerel is plentiful in the Gulf. This fish was popular at one time and sold at a good price (10 cents per pound). A publicity campaign is needed in order to increase demand. Finally, with two 125-foot boats manned by 30 men, herring flour could be produced (25 men in the factory). It would also be necessary to have the area between Red Point and East Point taken out of the hands of American speculators and made into a national park. (The latter project seems to us to be very sensible because of the beauty of the area.)

Interview - The people of the Island lack confidence in their own potential. Those who have any capital invest elsewhere. The government does not appear to give enough encouragement to local initiative. It seems that politicians interfere with ARDA projects and the choice of their location. There was a project to develop a peatery in order to improve the soil for farming. The project was rejected. In 1963 people became discouraged with presenting projects to ARDA. "There are probably too many bosses there."

The Farm Forum of Souris West (parish of Rollo Bay) has been in existence since 1948. It is the only farm forum left on the Island. Television apparently is too strong an attraction for the people. In the winter, there is a good deal of work done within the Farm Forum, but in the summer, the work of the fishermen and farmers reduces these activities to a minimum. There are not enough leaders and the best ones are leaving.

The workers seem to get along on low wages because they have no mortgages on their homes and are satisfied with old cars. In many cases they have their own gardens. Generally speaking, people eat little meat because it is too expensive. Nearly 10 per cent of the children are undernourished. "Before, wages were even lower ... now they accumulate unemployment insurance stamps in the factories. In the winter, some of them cut wood." Factory workers in the area make $2,500 a year. This is not enough to raise a family. A fillet slicer makes an hourly wage of $1.17, but women receive only 65 cents an hour.

Industrial Fishing at Georgetown

Georgetown is an ordinary sort of village, with old decrepit houses, and it is situated to the right of the junction of the Brudenell and Montague rivers, at the entrance to magnificent Cardigan Bay. A food processing plant is presently being built there. This $3 million plant will produce frozen fillets, frozen blocks of fox food, canned fish (European specialties, mostly with a herring base) and vegetables: green peas, spinach, Brussels sprouts, cucumbers.

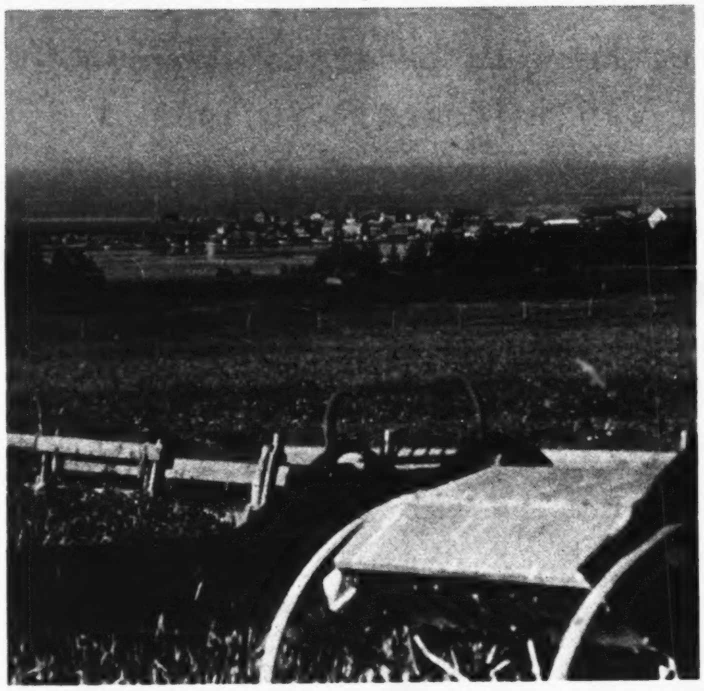


Figure 13. Lobster fishing centre of North Lake developed at the mouth of a lagoon; boats are sheltered from harsh waves of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

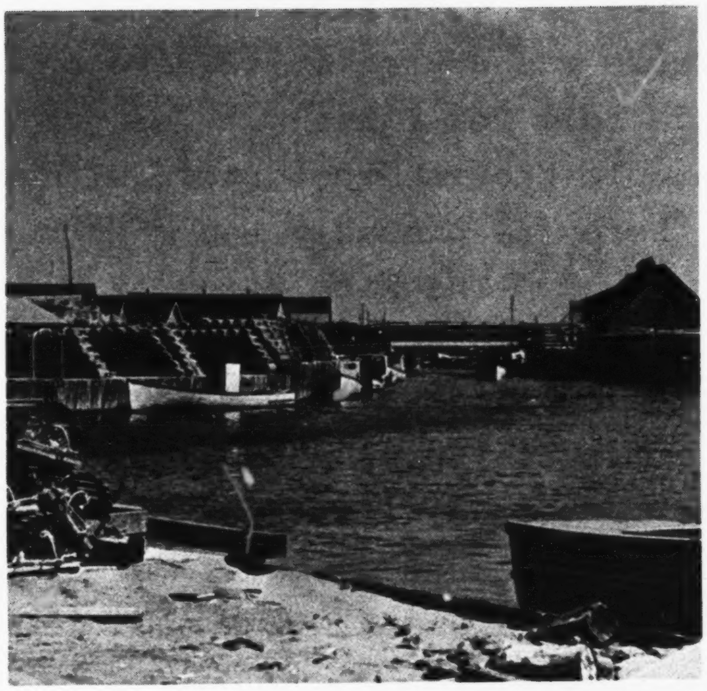


Figure 14. Lobster fishing season over at North Lake; fishermen are busy bringing in their traps; most traps are already piled on the quays.

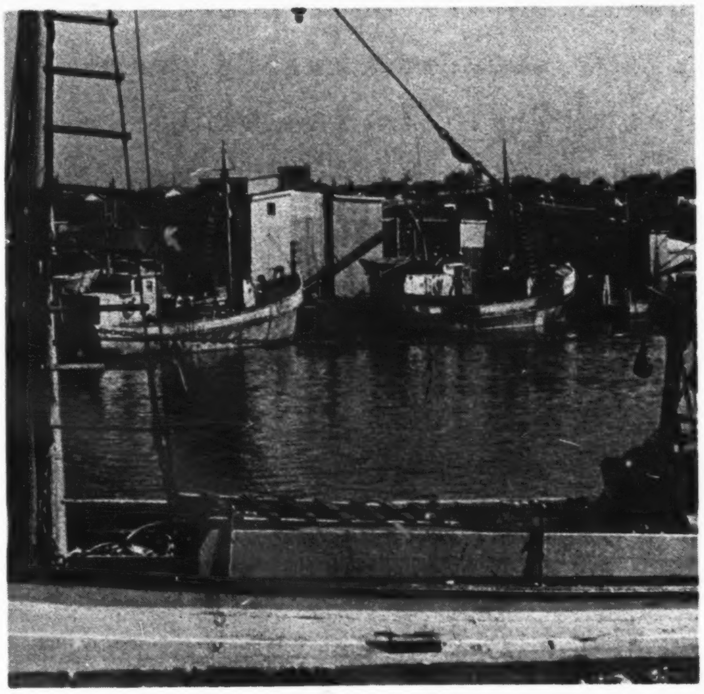


Figure 15. Until recently trawlers in Kings concentrated at Souris; still one of the major ports on the Island; boats supply two plants.

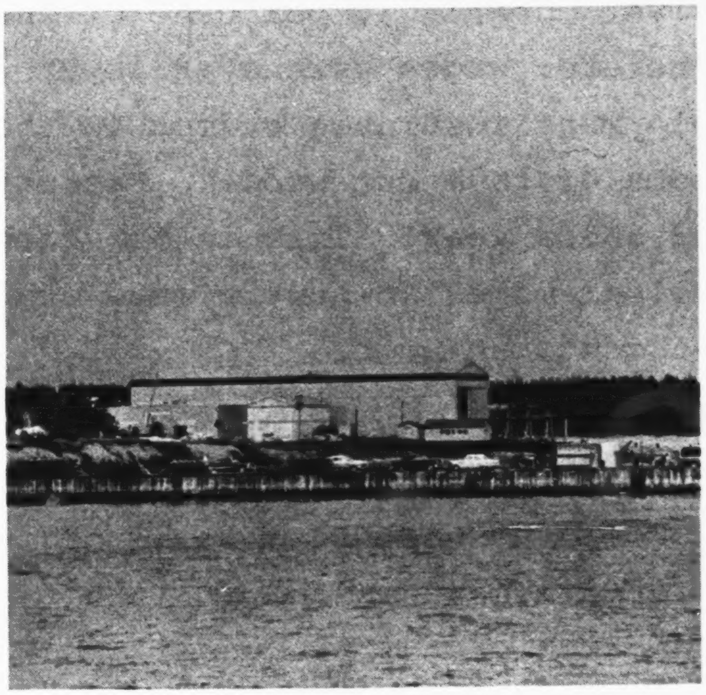


Figure 16. Georgetown food processing plant on the Montague estuary, has only recently started operations; joint project of outside promoters and public capital.

It is expected that 400 to 500 local people will be employed. The workers will be paid on a bonus basis. However, the plant will be closed for two to three months of the year because of ice. An attempt will be made to retain the executives and the best workers during the slack period to work on the herring. They will be able to count on the equivalent of 35 trawler trips each fishing season, or 3,500,000 pounds of fish. This will be sent directly to the European market.

A shipbuilding firm, formerly located in Bathurst, New Brunswick, was approached by the government of Prince Edward Island with attractive offers in 1962: free land, low taxes, loans. The move to Georgetown has been accompanied by a doubling in production. The number of employees will go up from 130 (100 workers - 30 white-collar jobs) to 200. Skilled workers earn $2.15 an hour, and labourers (intermediate categories) $1.46 an hour. One-quarter of the employees are Europeans. Thirty people commute from Charlottetown. The role of the technical schools of Charlottetown and Summerside could be extremely important; there is talk of building a third one at Montague.

The plant is well organized. Three 95-foot trawlers have already been delivered to the food processing plant in town. Three 128-foot trawlers are under construction. The plans were drawn up by company specialists. This new type of vessel will be able to go out for 10 days at a time, five or six of which will be devoted to fishing. It will be able to cover 300 miles a day (11 knots an hour). The crew will be made up of 17 men, and 11 of them will handle the fish. The launching of the first trawler is planned for August 1965.

MAJOR ASPECTS OF REGIONAL LIFE AND POVERTY

Monotonous countryside, scattered and sparse population, slowly paced activities - these are the main features of

Kings County. Low hills covered with spindly evergreens, open spaces, cultivated fields, fallow lands, swamps and low-lying lands make up the better part of an area bounded by a shoreline that is straight in the north, but strongly indented by rivers and all their estuaries in the south-east.

The mildness of the summer climate and the general pleasantness of the area disguise many serious dangers for man. For example, poor drainage sterilizes vast stretches of land, leaving it spongy and acid. The areas of good land are themselves sandwiched between land of no agricultural value because of its type or physical characteristics. The north shore, unprotected from the powerful Gulf waves, is hostile to human occupation, while the great indentations of the south-eastern estuaries, although they favour settlement, scatter the population and hinder communications.

This scattering of the population is balanced by the existence of a road network which is so well developed as to be out of all proportion to the density of population and the level of economic activity. This phenomenon is in sharp contrast to the scarcity of centres of population: one tiny city and a few villages. In some parishes, St-Charles for example, the parish church is off in the middle of the woods, in a clearing, without even one farm on the horizon. There are no anchor points for a rural population which has long since fallen apart.

In 1961, the population of Kings represented only 75 per cent of what it had been in 1921. The proportion of men is high and emigration a serious problem. The population is basically British, and the Acadians (10 per cent) have long been assimilated. The people work at traditional activities: their major occupations are small-scale deep-sea fishing, fish processing and farming.

The north-east, the interior and the south-east, being distinct geographical areas, strongly affect the general characteristics of a relatively sound economy and society.

Kings has its Brownstown (between Fortune and St. Peters) just as Prince has its "Dogpatch" (near Portage), but both these cases are really only isolated pockets of social disintegration. They are not typical of poverty in Prince Edward Island.

An important segment of the population is too poor to afford reasonable houses, balanced meals, material security or mobility. A good number of workers, small farmers who have given up agriculture, work at the same factory as their wives. These rural people, who are labourers and workers in the fish plants, work at jobs which are only seasonal.

Let us keep in mind, too, that incomes of more than $3,000 a year are the exception in Kings, and that 43 per cent of the wage-earning population gross less than $1,000. A similar proportion of the workers are employed for less than six months. The technological level is low, and half the working population fall into the primary labour category. It is relevant to mention the proliferation of finance (loan) companies in Charlottetown in the last 10 years. The number of these companies "serving" the island has risen from two to 10.

In our investigation, we noted a certain number of strong and weak sectors, defined in part by the nature of the bio-physical setting. For example, there is the satisfactory sector of the southern coast, but the hilly country behind it is unproductive. Still, it was the division of the peninsula in the north-eastern part of the Island which impressed us most strikingly. There, the inland region and the northern coast are clearly different from the southern coast.

This contrast can be seen even on the level of the natural setting: the north is forbidding, the south inviting. Agriculture is poorly developed in the north, but flourishing in the south. Population is thin in the north but heavier and involved in commercial activity on the Souris coast. Souris is the centre for the whole coast, and fish plants, trade and agriculture stimulate the economy. Yet, 60 years ago, all the north-east part of the Island was agriculturally developed. It is since this time that the process of selection has taken place and that fertile farming areas like Greenvale and Glencorradale, in the interior, have lost their inhabitants through emigration. Excellent land was allowed to become fallow. The same phenomenon characterizes the north shore, where, we recall, there are long lines of abandoned houses between Hermanville and Monticello. One suggested explanation is that the Catholic Scots were not interested in farming. The small land areas play some part anyway. The average number of acres under cultivation in each farming unit is barely 60. The average area drops to 45 acres in the north-east of Kings.

NOTE: By comparison, the Acadians seem to exert a healthy influence both in Prince and in Kings. This characteristic is in contrast to their status and living conditions on the Island throughout the nineteenth century. During a tour of Prince we noted their active participation in trade and in the tourist industry. They have set up fishermen's co-operatives and a system of credit unions. Some Protestant ministers are now trying to set up similar systems in their own parishes.

The Acadians have also taken the initiative in regard to schools, and in Prince (the Wellington area) they established in 1960 the first regional school on the Island (Evangeline School - Grades 8 to 12). At Souris, the only place in Kings where we felt any dynamism, the leadership seems to come largely from a small group of Acadians who own one of the fish packing plants. The Acadian clergy, who are powerful elsewhere in the Maritimes, play a negligible role in this situation, as there are only 11 priests on the Island, and only five of them are in French parishes.

In any case, the beginnings of a pilot project in Prince may possibly contribute to a workable community structure for the whole Island. This project is the Tignish Arts Foundation (1964). Tignish, a village in the north-west corner of Prince Edward Island, founded in 1799, is a wise choice for the initiation of the experiment, as it is widely known in the Maritimes for its work in co-operatives. This project, supported by a grant from ARDA, is under the direction of the Thomas More Institute of Canada for Research into Liberal Studies. One project, which is spread over four or five summer seasons, is aimed particularly at the 15 to 25 age group.

The main purpose is to make the community aware of its milieu in time and space (through folklore, archeology, painting, music and theatre) with the aim of broadening the horizons of knowledge and of creating a commitment to the milieu. If the present experiment proves satisfactory, a permanent, year-round plan will be worked out (with courses for adults in the winter) and this plan will gradually be spread to other localities on the Island. It seems to us that this experiment should be followed with much interest.

Examination of the general situation in Kings seems to prove that, to date, with the exception of the public services and their substructures, the area has been left to its own devices, with absolutely no over-all planning. The case of the tourist trade is striking. Despite the picturesque scenery of this area, which compares favourably with many areas of the central and western parts of the Island, waves of tourists continue to swamp Stanhope, Cavendish, Dalvay, etc. (These centres are federal parks; they have the immediate advantage of effective publicity. The same is not true of the provincial parks.)

Things are comparatively more advanced in Prince, and the people of Kings observe with a certain amount of envy the large-scale preliminary development studies which have taken place there. But, in Prince as in Kings, these studies "annoy" the population, and people are demanding concrete action. In short, ARDA has had bad publicity.

NOTE: The failure of the Rustico project was strongly felt among these rural people. During the winter of 1962, several citizens from this area took community development courses for six weeks; 143 of them passed the course. Within a short time, they had formed committees to study

> their socio-economic problems. Coming to the obvious conclusion that fishing was their economic base, they planned a project to increase the volume of production of the local co-operative plant, at a cost of about $90,000, of which the fishermen, the province and the federal government were each to provide one-third. The project, which involved 250 workers, fell through apparently for technical reasons.
>
> Appeals to the state, however, are not always accompanied by regional initiative, and the dynamism of the small elite of Souris, who produce project after project, is the exception. Otherwise, any large-scale projects are the work of international business organizers; the mediocrity of Georgetown itself is only too clear.

In rural areas, progress is still sometimes identified with power lines carrying electricity for domestic consumption, the telephone, and passable roads, all of which were non-existent less than 10 years ago. (Supplying electricity to rural areas began only in 1954.) In these isolated areas, where the average age of farmers and fishermen is 50 years, the world of aspiration is limited and the universe itself is small. Few are blessed with vision. Between Charlottetown, where the government is concentrated and business is handled, and the local community, a vacuum exists.

CHAPTER III

INVERNESS - OCCUPIED CORRIDOR BETWEEN SEA AND MOUNTAINS

GENERAL INFORMATION

Bio-Physical Setting

The massive ridge of Cape Breton Island, one of the major peninsulas of the Maritimes, points north-east into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is not a land for men: cliffs, 1,000 to 1,200 feet high, face the sea along much of its circumference. These cliffs are barely lapped by tides which generally rise and fall about 10 feet. Essentially, the island is a crystalline mass of Precambrian intrusions of an average height of 1,500 to 1,700 feet. The uneven relief drops several hundred feet in the south-west (the area of the Mabou Highlands), a sector identified by its sandstone, shale and limestone from the carboniferous and permian eras. Here are located the bituminous coal fields.

V-shaped valleys slash the rim of the plateau in the northern part of the Island, but the plateau itself suffers from poor drainage. Barrens and peatbogs cover great areas of the interior. The crystalline mass of the plateau resisted erosion, which would have permitted lake formation, and this mass is now protected by its swamp vegetation. For all practical purposes there are no lakes on the plateau itself. Ainslie Lake, a lovely large lake (12 miles long and five miles wide) is located farther down and surrounded by a crown of hills which rise to more than 500 feet. The Margaree River, which played a vital role in the Scottish settlement, flows northwards and meanders for about 25 miles before it reaches the sea.

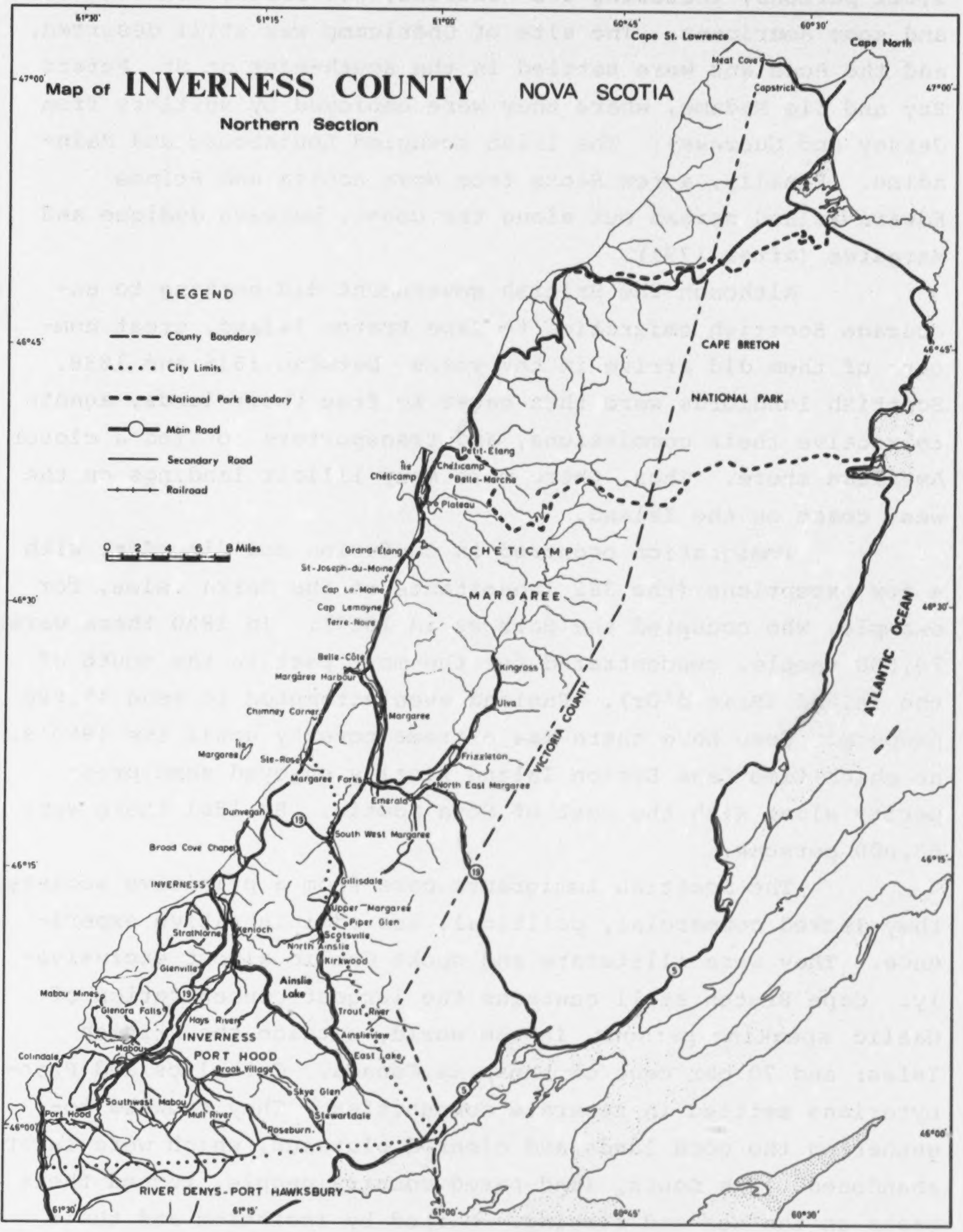
The Island is stingy both with its soil and with flat areas favourable to human occupation. Essentially, in the north-west, there are the narrow valleys of the branches of the Margaree and a coastal sector limited on the south by the mouth of this river and on the north by Petit-Étang. There is also the island of Chéticamp, almost four miles long, which is connected to the mainland by a narrow strip of sand. Soils are podzols, and the natural vegetation everywhere is that of the forest. In low-lying areas there are sugar maples, red oak and elm. Pure stands of balsam fir occupy the higher ground, along with white and black spruce, birch and mountain ash.

The climate usually advances by stages from south to north. Thus, for example, the growing season begins anywhere from May 5 to 20. The season ends between October 30 and November 5 in the south, and October 20 to 25 in the north. Precipitation (45 inches) and snowfall (more than 100 inches) are weary. Fog is common during the spring. The continental influence seems to be relatively strong.

Winds come from the west and north-west in the winter, and from the south-west in the summer. One important climatic characteristic is found in the "suêtes" (an Acadian term) which are winds of an extremely high velocity that rush across the plateau from the south-east. The usual period for these winds is the end of August, and the "August gale" has a sinister reputation. There is also the north wind which causes rough seas and hampers navigation in an area totally centred on the sea. Still, it must be noted that the summer climate is mild and temperate; people swim in the ocean for two months at Chéticamp.

Settlement by the Scots

When the government of Cape Breton Island was first set up, a government which lasted from 1784 to 1820, 500 Loyalists had emigrated to this region (1783) (Harvey 1941). Few traces of them remain today, although they arrived in an almost empty area. At the time of the 1774 Census there were only


Map of INVERNESS COUNTY NOVA SCOTIA
Northern Section
LEGEND
County Boundary
City Limits
National Park Boundary
Main Road
Secondary Road
Railroad
0 2 4 6 8 Miles
61°30'
61°15'
61°00'
60°45'
60°30'
47°00'
46°45'
46°30'
46°15'
46°00'
Cape St. Lawrence
Cape North
Meat Cove
Capstick
CAPE BRETON
NATIONAL PARK
ATLANTIC OCEAN
VICTORIA COUNTY
Petit-Étang
Île Chéticamp
Chéticamp
Belle-Marche
Le Plateau
Grand Étang
St-Joseph-du-Moine
Cap Le-Moine
Cap Lemoyne
Terre-Noire
CHÉTICAMP
MARGAREE
Belle-Côte
Margaree Harbour
Kingross
Chimney Corner
Margaree
Ulva
Île Margaree
Ste-Rose
Frizzleton
Margaree Forks
Emerald
North East Margaree
Dunvegan
South West Margaree
Broad Cove Chapel
INVERNESS
Gillisdale
Upper Margaree
Piper Glen
Strathlorne
Kenloch
Scotsville
North Ainslie
Kirkwood
Glenville
Ainslie Lake
Mabou Mines
Glenora Falls
Hays River
Trout River
INVERNESS
PORT HOOD
Ainslieview
Colindale
Mabou
Brook Village
East Lake
Southwest Mabou
Skye Glen
Port Hood
Mull River
Stewartdale
Roseburn
RIVER DENYS-PORT HAWKSBURY
19
5

1,012 persons, including 502 Acadians, 206 Irish, some British and some Americans. The site of Chéticamp was still deserted, and the Acadians were settled in the south-east at St. Peters Bay and Île Madame, where they were employed by settlers from Jersey and Guernsey. The Irish occupied Louisbourg and Main-adieu. Finally, a few Scots from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island spread out along the coast, between Judique and Margaree (after 1791).

Although the British government did nothing to encourage Scottish emigration to Cape Breton Island, great numbers of them did arrive in the years between 1815 and 1838. Scottish landlords were then eager to free their lands, agents to receive their commissions, and transporters to find a closer American shore. Thus, there were many illicit landings on the west coast on the Island.

Immigration occurred in confusion and disorder, with a few exceptions (the 382 inhabitants of the Barra Isles, for example, who occupied the Narrows in 1817). In 1820 there were 10,000 people, concentrated for the most part in the south of the Island (Bras d'Or). England even attempted to send 15,000 paupers! Even here there was extreme poverty until the 1850's, at which time Cape Breton Island finally enjoyed some prosperity along with the rest of Nova Scotia. By 1861 there were 63,000 persons.

The Scottish immigrants came from a primitive society; they lacked commercial, political, and administrative experience. They were illiterate and spoke Gaelic almost exclusively. Cape Breton still contains the largest concentration of Gaelic speaking persons in the world, outside the British Isles; and 70 per cent of those in Canada. Catholics and Presbyterians settled in separate communities. They crowded together on the good lands and cleared plateaux, which were later abandoned. The Scots, land-based country people, turned their backs on the sea and fishing. Marked by isolation and their conservative natures, they followed the valleys into the interior, where they settled down again to a subsistence economy.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the development of the coal fields disturbed this rural peace. Mining companies sprang up everywhere. Among them were the Chestico Coal Mining Corp. at Harbour View (near Port Hood), Scotian Coal Co. Ltd. (near Mabou) and Evans Coal Mine at Ste-Rose. As late as 1947, Inverness supplied 2 per cent of the production of Nova Scotia (83,083 tons). In 1963 it had fallen to 1 per cent (56,764 tons).

Local people recall that 1,800 to 2,000 men were employed by 10 or 12 coal companies in the Inverness area. The Dominion Coal Mine (Sydney) alone controlled eight. As late as 1945, there were three mines at Port Hood. The situation has now greatly deteriorated and the market for coal has diminished. Today there remain a few mines with decrepit machinery, which depend for their survival on federal subsidies. Coal mining is passing into history in Inverness and the area is falling back into its former lethargy.

Settlement by the Acadians

The Acadians who settled at Chéticamp, St-Joseph-du-Moine and Margaree (Magré) came in 1785 and 1786 (Chiasson 1961). A good number of them were natives of Saint John's Island (Prince Edward Island) and Cape Breton Island; they had lived there up till 1758, when they were driven out and back to France by the English. They came from the Gulf region and they again sought an isolated quiet spot. They found it on the north-east coast of Cape Breton.

Luckily, times had changed, and the governor of the Island even offered land concessions and supplies for two or three years to attract the Acadians. The charter of the government of Sydney (Sept. 27, 1790) granted 7,000 acres to 14 of them. The lots were not granted individually but were divided up by the elders. Fear of the English was still an obsession and they cleared land in the interior rather than along the coast. Besides, the land was flat, fertile and well irrigated. Common pastures were set up. Along the coast, the settlers from Jersey, who had come in 1770, sold fish to the Acadians; this yoke would prove heavy to throw off.

The population grew rapidly: 26 families in 1790, 85 in 1809, 784 people in 1820. Later, in 1879, a census counted 2,500 people and a part of Chéticamp, Grand-Étang, was set up as an autonomous parish: St-Joseph-du-Moine. Emigration had already begun to the Magdalen Islands, Prince Edward Island and even Newfoundland at first, then to Val Jalbert (a pulp and paper mill at Lac St-Jean in Quebec), and then to the construction sites at Bangor, Maine in 1895. Later there came a regional phase when coal was being mined at New Waterford, Reserve Mines, and North Sydney. Today, people are turning to Montreal and Toronto.

Unlike the Scots, the Acadians had a community spirit, were resourceful and outgoing. They were good carpenters and made farming implements, furniture and schooners. The owners of the schooners sailed the Gulf as far as the North Coast, up the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec, and south as far as the Antilles. They would leave with cargoes of cod, meat and livestock, and bring back molasses, fruit, flour, rum, clothing and utensils.

Economic life was based primarily on fishing and the sale of fish, leaving farming a minor role from the beginning. Seals were hunted for a month or two, beginning at the end of March, with the breaking up of the ice fields. For fishing itself the inhabitants used tiny boats holding two or three men, which never went far from shore (5 to 6 miles). Fishermen were controlled by a local family, who gradually took over their equipment and boats. Payment was made in kind, and the boats had to be returned by All Saints' Day, although today fishing continues until some time in January.

Surprisingly enough, the timber of the plateau was not exploited on a commercial basis. Wood was cut only for heating and construction. Later men went to the lumbering camps elsewhere at Ste-Anne and St-Pierre, among others, but they went reluctantly, it seems, to pay off a debt or to make money for some major expense. It was said that the work was hard and unhealthy.

For the people of Chéticamp, men of the sea, the dredging of the entrance to the harbour in 1874 (the sand bank was cleared to a depth of 24 feet) was an important event. Vessels then could shelter and moor alongside the wharfs. The fishing industry grew. Lobster beds were added to the drying and curing facilities. Four have been set up since 1876 by business men from Pictou (1870), Portland, Maine (1898-1921) and Chéticamp (1900-1918), and (1947). But the fishermen were being exploited and sought a way of freeing themselves. In 1915, about 20 fishermen from the Island organized an agency for the sale of fish. This may have been the first in America; it was certainly the first in the Maritimes. It was a victory for the lobster industry.

The fishermen of Chéticamp harbour itself became organized in turn and in 1933 the Chéticamp Fishermen's Co-operative Ltd. (lobster fishery) was created. The co-operative movement spread: purchasing co-operative (1935), credit union (1936), fishery (1942). Courses on co-operatives were held, and later the Antigonish group also took part. In 1950 there were 150 fishermen members, handling 2 to 7 million pounds of fish. A fire destroyed all their equipment in 1955, but with the aid of quite a substantial loan from the Provincial Department of Industry and Commerce, it was possible to rebuild on a larger and better basis. The co-operatives of Petit-Étang and Chéticamp have divided up the work. The former handles frozen fish, fillets and livestock feed, the latter, fish to be salted and lobster. The same manager directs both plants.

We should also mention the role of mining operations in the economic life of the Acadians. In 1897 a prospector discovered a bed of gypsum to the south-east of Chéticamp. Enterprising citizens organized a local mining company in 1907. This was the Great Northern Mining Co. Shares were sold as far away as the Province of Quebec. In 1908, a cargo of 8,000 tons was bought and the plaster was sent to Montreal. A railroad was built linking the mine with the port in 1911, but two years later the mine had to close down.

Other companies, this time from off the Island, were organized later (1914, 1923, 1926). The gypsum episode closed after a profitable period: from 1936 to 1939 the National Gypsum Company shipped gypsum to Montreal, the United States and Europe. Later, this company moved to Milford (Hants County). Another 750,000 tons of gypsum were produced in the southern part of the country. Lead sulphide, barium oxide and gold also had their periods of activity at Chéticamp. In 1898, the Chéticamp Mining Co. (Halifax) spent $300,000 to extract lead sulphide. After two years, the attempt was abandoned. In 1899, the Henderson and Potts company extracted barium oxide, and from 1897 to 1899 another company tested the foothills for gold. So much for mineral resources.

A more profitable "mine" now exists - the tourist trade. Ever since the Cabot Trail and Cape Breton National Park became attractions, because of their beautiful scenery, tourists have abounded. Chéticamp is situated less than three miles from the entrance to the Park and is an ideal stop-over: restaurants, hotels and motels. Chéticamp is no longer an outpost.

Population

Except for some bursts of vitality, there has been a great and widespread decrease in the population of the County of Inverness since the beginning of this century. Thus, except for the peak in 1911 (105), the index of 100 in 1901 has dropped to 77 in 1961. There has been a decrease from 24,353 to 18,718 inhabitants.

From north to south, the county is divided into three census subdivisions: (a) Chéticamp - Margaree, (b) Inverness - Port Hood, (c) River Denys - Port Hawksbury. The examination of the evolution of their population is of undoubted interest (Table 5). The general fall indicated for the whole county has had repercussions in each of these subdivisions: their population was at its maximum at the beginning of the century. Inverness - Port Hood, which benefited from the coal mining industry, reached a peak of 10,000 inhabitants in 1911; the decline which followed the closing of the mines was all the more marked - in 1961, the figure was 6,471. But for 30 years (1911 - 1941) this sector dominated the county.

TABLE 5 - POPULATION OF INVERNESS - 1901-1961*

	County 1901:100	(a) Chéticamp-Margaree	(b) Inverness-Port Hood	(c) River Denys-Port Hawksbury
1901	24,353(100)	8,974(37)	8,308(34)	7,071(29)
1911	25,571(105)	8,562(33.5)	10,044(40)	6,965(26.5)
1921	23,808(98)	8,466(35.5)	9,356(40)	5,986(24.5)
1931	21,055(86.5)	7,407(35)	8,645(41)	5,003(24)
1941	20,573(84.2)	7,610(37)	8,297(40)	4,666(23)
1951	18,390(75.6)	7,573(41)	6,662(36)	4,155(23)
1961	18,718(77)	7,526(40)	6,471(34.5)	4,721(25.5)

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*Figures between brackets in columns (a), (b) and (c) express distribution of population in the corresponding census year as a percentage of the total.

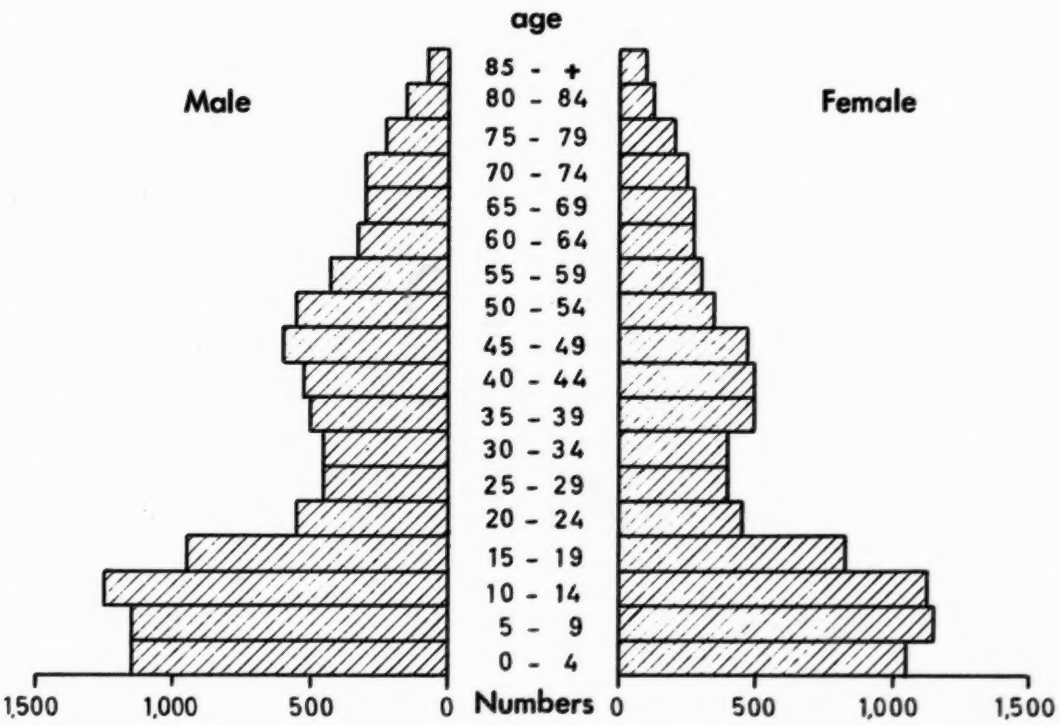
In the other two census subdivisions, the decrease is remarkably regular. In the Acadian sector (a), the population level was kept more or less steady up to the twenties and then there was a sharp drop in 1931. In 1961, however, Chéticamp-Margaree had the largest percentage of population in the county: 40 per cent. There has been nothing eventful in the decrease in sector (c) an area which has never been able to attract many people, and the slight increase in 1961 was due to new activities and the improvements carried out on the Canso Strait.

We will not stress estimates of the density of population in a county where most settlement is concentrated on the coast. However, only 13 per cent of the population is urban. As for the rural population, two-thirds of it is classified as "non-agricultural", that is 10,207 inhabitants out of a total of 18,718 for the whole county.

Let us look at the population structure. If the demographic definition of the adult - the 20-59 age group - is used, then adults make up 43 per cent of the population; 46 per cent of the population are young people (0-19 years) and 11 per cent elderly. The ratio of dependence is thus 57/43. This is very high. By the economic definition of the adult in a rural area (15 - 64 years), 56 per cent of the population is adult, 36 per cent is made up of young people between the ages of 0 and 14 years, and 8 per cent of old people (65 and over). The real dependence ratio remains high.

The pyramid of ages shows the eccentric character of an area of great emigration. Here the base is not too unsteady, but the marked narrowing seen in the quinquennial group, 15-19 years, is sharply accentuated in the 20-24, 25-29 and 30-34 age groups. The number of people between 34 and 50 is much greater than the number of people in the preceding groups. The ratio of men is high, standing at 114 per cent in 1951 and 113 per cent in 1961. This may be compared to respective figures of 102 per cent and 103 per cent for Nova Scotia.

AGE – SEX PYRAMID
INVERNESS COUNTY – 1961



Emigration acts on an extremely low demographic increase. The rate of natural growth was as low as 6 per cent in 1931 and 6 per cent in 1941. It rose to 11 per cent in 1960. With this rate of growth, the theoretical population figure for 1961 could be calculated as 31,808 people (+8,000) which would be an increase of 34 per cent by comparison with the starting year, 1921. In fact, there has been a 21 per cent decrease; there is, therefore, a divergence of 55 per cent between the real and theoretical figures.

NOTE: With regard to the statistics registered, it must be remembered that, before 1941, births and deaths were not reported as the place of residence of the parents (birth) or of the deceased, but as the place where the event occurred, e.g. a hospital.

Of the inhabitants of Inverness, 94 per cent were born in the county and 95 per cent in the Atlantic region. Scarcely

2 per cent were born in Quebec and Ontario. There is massive emigration, but there has obviously been no immigration for a long time. The British (70 per cent) and Acadians (26 per cent) make up the population which stays in the area. There are also 236 Dutch (farmers) and 192 Indians.

By far the majority of the inhabitants of the region (73 per cent), both Acadians and Scots, are Catholic. Apart from this, only the United Church of Canada has any representation with 17 per cent of the population belonging to it. There are few other religious organizations other than the Presbyterian Church (6 per cent).

The geographical division between the Acadians and the Scots is usually complemented by the linguistic division. With regard to official language, 84 per cent of the inhabitants of Inverness are unilingual: 75 per cent speak English and 9 per cent French; 16 per cent of the population are bilingual. As for the mother tongue, it is interesting to note that 6 per cent of the population give this as Gaelic; the proportion of inhabitants whose mother tongue is English is thus decreased to 69 per cent. As many as 23 per cent of the population speak French.

Inverness County has a labour force of 5,310: 4,214 men and 1,096 women. Of these 37 per cent are employed at the primary level, 17 per cent at the secondary, and 46 per cent at the tertiary. Agriculture is dominant at the primary level (921) and fishing comes a long way behind (498). There are 348 people employed in lumbering and 164 in mining. Employment at the secondary level is divided between construction (523) and the manufacturing industry (415). Women are practically absent from the primary level, but 129 of them work in processing.

More than half of the labour force works at the tertiary level. There are fewer women than men - 910 to 1,531. Occupations at the tertiary level are in commerce and the provision of every-day services to the population; these employ 1,564 people or three-quarters of the labour at this level. We should also mention a group of 597 people employed in transport, communications and public utility services, and 280 people in public administration.

The analysis of the labour force by its industrial divisions is complemented by an analysis of occupational division. This shows that 3,183 workers out of 5,452 are in occupations at a low technological level: lumberjack, farmer, fish-plant employee, miner, labourer. There are only 170 women in all in this basic group. These women are mainly employed in fish processing factories. The situation improves in the group that comprises administration, commerce, the professions, etc, which contains only 1,148 men, but 951 women. However, we must not have too many illusions about this group of 2,099 people. Transport and communications employ 300, services and recreational activities 537 and office work 556. Finally, the professional and technical workers (424 people) include the teaching professions.

Calculations for the 3,637 wage earners of Inverness (2,682 men and 955 women) show that 77 per cent of them earned less than $3,000 in the 12 months ending June 1, 1961; 22 per cent of the men and 6 per cent of the women earned wages varying between $3,000 and $6,000. The average amount earned by the men was $2,037 and by the women, $1,444. In connection with this low average, it must be mentioned that 34 per cent of the wage-earning labour force (1,220 people) received less than $1,000.

Over this 12-month period, 34 per cent of the total labour force worked for less than 27 weeks, 19 per cent for 27 to 39 weeks, and 47 per cent for 40 to 52 weeks. The seasonal character of the employment is thus obvious. It is useful to compare this information with the unemployment figures; we see by this that fewer than 1 per cent of the men (224 out of 4,359) and 3 per cent of the women (37 out of 1,134) are looking for

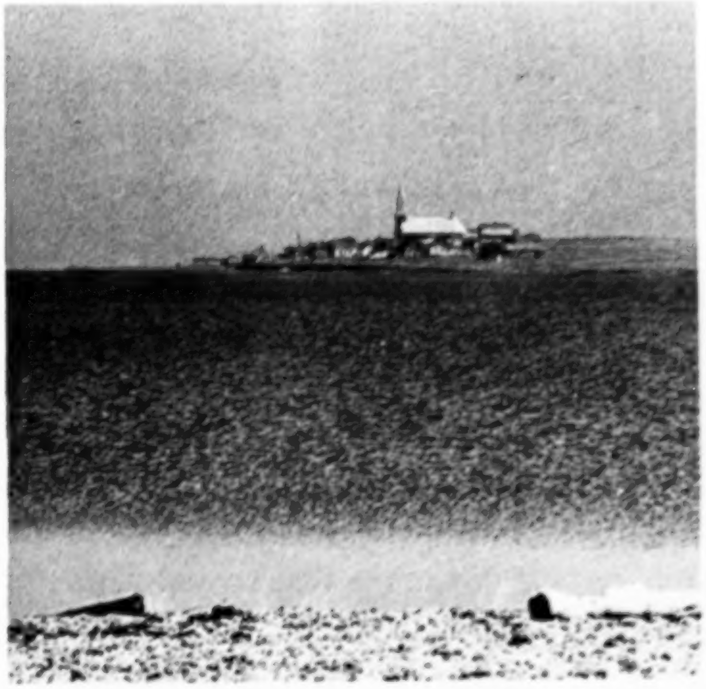


Figure 17. Chéticamp, Acadian stronghold, extends to the sea; one of the liveliest and best integrated Acadian communities in the Maritimes.

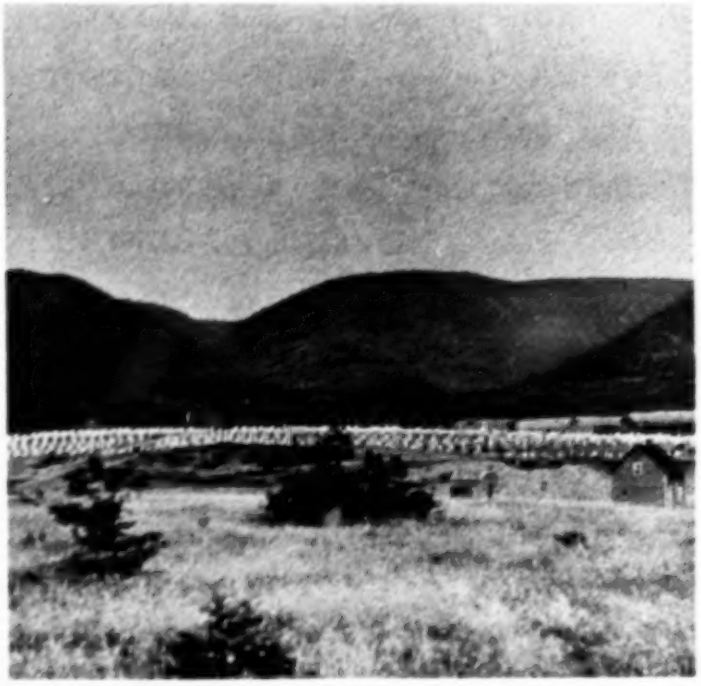


Figure 18. For more than two centuries, Acadians of Chéticamp have been buried in an isolated cemetery on a hill between the sea and the mountain.

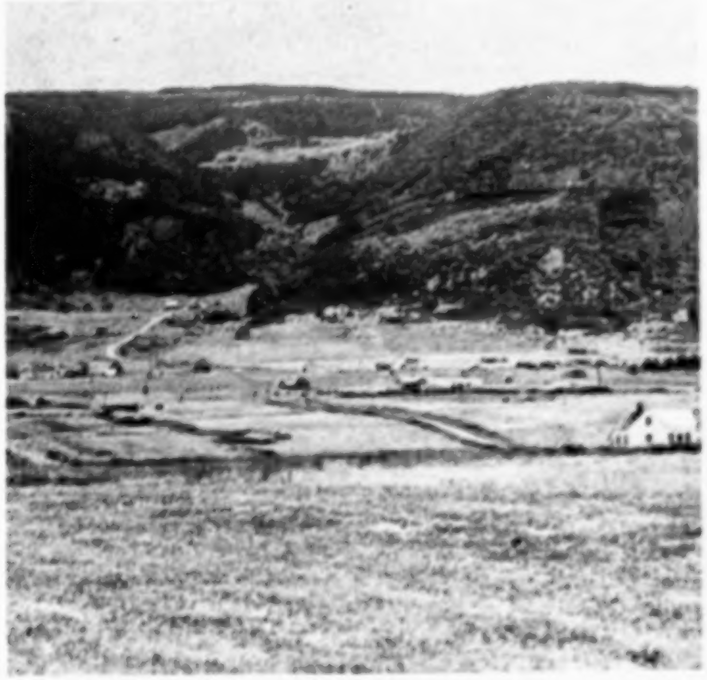


Figure 19. Highlands rise steeply behind Chéticamp; small houses are scattered throughout the foothills on a narrow strip of arable land.

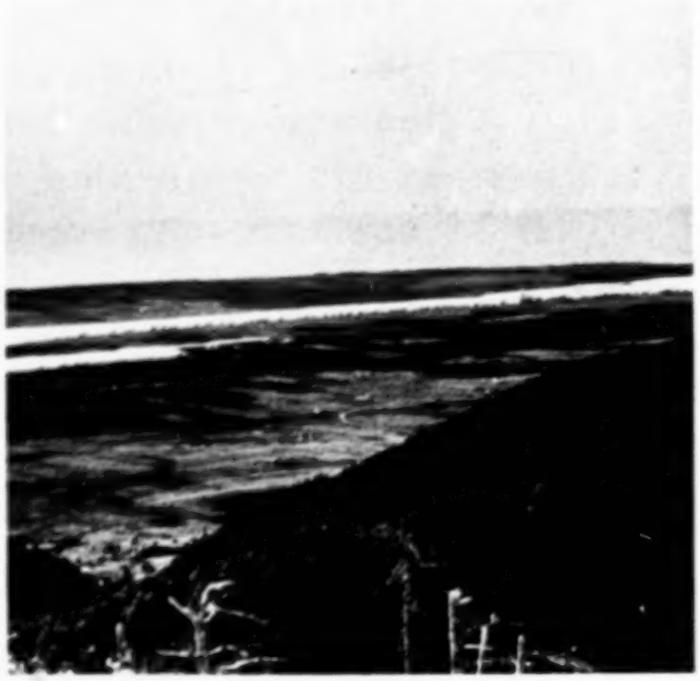


Figure 20. Island of Chéticamp and its common pasture run parallel to the shore with the houses of Chéticamp strung out facing it.

work. The phenomenon is normal since employment, though seasonal, is stable and also because a large number of young people emigrate without further ado.

CHÉTICAMP

The territory of the Acadians is well defined. It is the coastal sector which stretches from Belle-Côte on the right bank of the Margaree, at its mouth, as far as Petit-Étang at the gate of the Park. It is made up of a strip of low-lying land which is made narrower still by the slopes and hills; this land is closely bounded by sea and mountain. The plateau falls steeply and strikingly, by as much as 1,200 feet. There are a few houses beyond this. You pass almost without transition from Terre-Noire to Cap Lemoyne, St-Joseph, Pointe-à-la-Croix and the mother parish. The small farms straggle along and there is no real concentration of houses except at Chéticamp.

One important factor of the setting is Chéticamp Island, which is linked to the mainland by a narrow strip of sand. On the island, which is four miles long, the meadows, rocks and small conifers run parallel to the village street, and are separated from it by a long roadstead. This roadstead is deep enough for ships to manoeuvre, but a sandbank makes entry difficult. The channel cut through it is continually becoming blocked and this causes navigators a good deal of worry. Finally, on the coast and as far as the foothills the trees disappeared a long time ago, and small houses on subsistence farms are dotted along behind the cordon of fishermen's huts.

The Acadian Community

Interview - "L", the parish priest of Chéticamp, is a member of the Eudists. He was born at Mont-Carmel on Prince Edward Island; he taught and was eventually appointed parish priest at Baie-Comeau in Quebec.

There are few baptisms now; last year there were only 29. The families in this area have finished having children. Out of 25 marriages, 20 were between former parishioners settled in Toronto and other places. Eight people are over 80 years old, and 100 others are between 60 and 80. The number of families has dropped from 613 (3,023 people) in 1960 to 546 (2,541 people) in 1964.

"The parish is well off," says the priest, "because people are generous to the church." Each year $30,000, or the large sum of $12 per head, is collected (Table 6).

TABLE 6 - ANNUAL REVENUE OF CHÉTICAMP PARISH CHURCH

Pews	$ 5,400	Lenten alms	$1,500-2,000
Collections	11,450	Tithes	6-7,000($10/family)
Cemetery	1,200	Vigil lights and post cards*	3,000

*Vigil lights and post cards are mainly for tourists.

In 1895 the church was built for the low sum of $42,000. The parishioners worked voluntarily and the stone was transported from the head of the island on the ice by teams of oxen. It would cost $700,000 to build today. At the present time, despite the organization of a large sports centre, all debts will have been settled in two years time.

"Chéticamp is a happy parish," the priest says. People are content with very little. Young people want more. "They want the amenities of a large town even if they cannot afford them. They wish to behave as if they were wealthy even if they are not." Chéticamp "is a pious and generous parish": 95,000 communions a year, novenas to Ste-Anne, and collections of $500-$600 in the case of misfortune. However, Chéticamp is "an average parish from the economic point of view".

Forty-six families are classed as poor: 30 families on the plateau, 10 families on the island and the rest on the seafront of the port. The causes are deficiencies in family education, little schooling, drink. "You live on a bit of this, a bit of that."

Interview - An observer comments: "The Acadian has little idea of organization and becomes discouraged easily. He is not tenacious in business and lacks initiative. There is no liking for those who go ahead."

Interview - "M", the parish priest of St-Joseph-du-Moine, was born in the Sydney sector, but has been living here for 10 years. He says that the number of families in St-Joseph has dropped from 185 (850 people) in 1955 to 158 (670 people) in 1965. The number of children at school (Grades 1 to 8) has dropped from 230 in 1960 to 160 in 1965. Most of those who emigrate are families in which the head of the family is under 50 years old and where there are 7 or 8 children. Formerly, *most of the emigrants went to Waltham* (Mass.) but now they go to Toronto. They work in factories, especially in car factories. During the summer, the parish has a large floating population of emigrants who have returned; some of them keep their houses here for that period.

The main occupation at St-Joseph is fishing. There are 30 lumberjacks and five part-time farmers. Taxes have doubled over the past few years. A pauper is defined as one who depends on the municipality for part of the year. There are none in the parish, though there were two who emigrated. The priest says, "No one is deprived here. The standards of the families are high."

Interview - "N", a resident of the parish of Chéticamp, is about 40 years old, married and the owner of a new and well-fitted bungalow. He comes from a family of nine children.

He had to leave school at 13 and he "learns from life". His two sisters are married; one to a miner in Waterford, and the other lives in Toronto with her husband. His six brothers are employed as follows: "A" is a day worker at Chéticamp, "B" works at the Chéticamp Hospital, "C" is a fisherman at Chéticamp, "D" is the captain of a government boat, "E" is an engineer on a government boat, and "F" is a farmer for the Waterford Hospital.

Their father earned $40 a month as second mate on a boat which provided a service between Halifax and Chéticamp; he is still a sailor. "N" himself shovelled coal in the mines at Waterford; he was there for 10 years. Ten years ago, a fall of rock led to the amputation of a leg. He has lived in Chéticamp ever since that time. He is vigorous, intelligent, extremely active, and one of the few leaders in the area.

The economic activities of the heads of families are divided between fishing (225), lumbering (100) and trades and services (125): 25 of these work in the National Park. There remain 100 heads of families who have no fixed jobs. In fishing, boat owners make a good living ($3,000 to $5,000). The same is not true of those who are employed. "N's" brother made only $1,300 in a season. Tourism does not help those who need it: "It doesn't help the fisherman or the lumberjack." The best amenities are at the entrance to the Park (golf and the Ingonish hotel). Here people have not even succeeded in obtaining a swimming pool. A small industry employing 200 people is needed. The problem is that people do not work together.

There are a certain number of "pretenders" among the 100 poor families. In winter, 30 families are on "relief" (social welfare). This is not a hardship. During that period, they spend some time in the Park. There are no real paupers because of the government "pensions" (social welfare payments). The income is low and payment of wages is monthly. This year, the government has laid down a minimum hourly wage of 60 cents for women and 90 cents to $1.25 for men. People are in debt. Taxes are high since the government re-organized the schools ("N" pays $200). "The Scots are more cunning than the Acadians; they don't pay their taxes, their houses are put up for sale - but no one buys them."

Winter is the good season for Chéticamp. People pay visits, play cards and drink beer. It is a "picnic" for people used to working 10 or 12 hours a day to go and work in industry in the towns. People much prefer to emigrate to Toronto than to Montreal.

Interview - "O" is the manager of a branch of a bank in the region. He says the Acadians have raised and still do raise families on $2,500 a year, this sum being made up of $1,800 earned in 7 months at the fish-processing factory, $360 "earned" from five months unemployment benefits and $340 in family allowances. They own their house. Each year they have four or five small barrels of fish, and two pigs, 20 hens and a cow; these are butchered at home and all the meat put in the deep-freeze during autumn. These are the winter provisions.

Women make rugs and the old people receive a pension ($75 x 2). People have little or no life insurance (sometimes $1,000). At the bank, loans are made on good faith and a reputation for honesty. The amount involved was $990,000 over six years. The bank has lost less than $1,000. Such a small loss is exceptional. People also say that the Scots watch their money very carefully.

NOTE: Five citizens of Chéticamp - among them, three teachers - met some time ago and formed a committee (Chéticamp Development Committee) interested in plans for dredging the harbour and selling pulpwood. They are, as usual, proceeding cautiously with the available means. On their side, the Scots of Margaree have founded the (NIID) North Inverness Industrial Development Committee (1964). When they learnt of the interest among the inhabitants of Chéticamp in the harbour, the Scots invited the Acadians to join with them. However, the territory of the NIID goes only as far as Dunvegan in the south - about 15 miles from the mouth of the river Margaree.

The NIID has benefited from ARDA funds ($20,000) for the straightening of the river bed where precious alluvial soils are washed into the sea. The farmers are complaining, however, that the work has been undertaken without serious study and that the funds have been wasted; half of the money has already been spent. ARDA committees have been organized for fishing, mines and tourism, but the Acadians are preparing to dissociate themselves; they do not see what benefit they will derive from association with the Scots.

The promoters of the Chéticamp Development Committee organized an ad hoc meeting of about 10 Acadians for local economic development. The committee is interested in copper mining. Hopes are based on surface minerals and the assaying of elements (3 per cent) which are probably scattered. It was decided to ask the government to intensify its work of making a geological inventory and to press the three private companies making explorations to speed up their work.

The regional representative of the Adult Education Division (Sydney) was at the meeting. This man, born in the region and a former teacher, was the instigator of the aforementioned Chéticamp Development Committee. Mr. "X", also present at the meeting, is a pioneer of the co-operative movement and a member of the county Federation of Agriculture (This federation works slowly.). He is also a member of the ARDA committee for Inverness.

Among others present at the meeting were the verger, the funeral director, the owner of a service station (who is also a town councillor), a farmer from St-Joseph-du-Moine and an insurance salesman.

The question of dredging the harbour again came under consideration. The local chamber of commerce has already written a letter to the federal government on this subject. The ad hoc committee decided to make a proposal supporting the request of the chamber of commerce. A copy of this proposal was to be sent to the ARDA committee in order to obtain its support. A member insisted that the projects should be channeled to that end. We must emphasize that, although the Acadians make up 75 per cent of the population of North Inverness, the ARDA committee includes only two Acadians, while there are 12 Scots, including the chairman and the secretary.

It was decided at the ad hoc meeting that the Acadians should form a committee to meet their own needs and that another committee should be set up jointly with the Scots to deal with the problems which are truly regional in scope. It was decided to form the Comité Acadien de Développement (the Acadian Development Committee, North Inverness).

Fishing and Industry

Interview - "P" is the manager of the Chéticamp and St-Joseph-du-Moine co-operatives. He is a former teacher, about 45 years old, and he comes from the Isle Madame (Richmond). He has taken courses at Antigonish.

The co-operative was set up in 1937. Until the fire in 1954, the co-operative produced frozen blocks of fish. The present factory was built in 1956. It deals on an average with 6 to 7 million pounds (60 per cent plaice, 20 per cent cod, 20 per cent rose fish) of frozen, ready-to-eat fish. Of this, 99 per cent is sold to the United States; the main buyer is located at Boston. The demand is greater than the supply. At the St-Joseph co-operative in Grand-Étang, 2 million pounds of salted and dried fish is prepared for the West Indies. The factory is active from May to December (7 to 8 months), but the introduction this year of two trawlers (86 and 94 feet long) will allow the work to be extended to the end of January.

In all there are 86 fishermen; 36 on 50 to 60 foot boats, 20 on the two trawlers, and 30 coastal fishermen who catch mainly lobster and some cod and mackerel. On the trawlers, the captain receives $10,000, the second mate $4,000, the engineer $5,000 and the seamen-fishermen $3,000. On the 50 to 60 foot boats (Danish seine) $550 of every $1,000 goes for ice, equipment, insurance and repayment of loans. The rest is divided in equal parts between the three men, including the captain. Finally, the coastal fishermen make as much as the Danish seine men.

There are 120 employees in the Chéticamp factory; some men, some women. Their ages range from 16 to 65. The minimum rate for the area is 60 cents an hour for the women and 85 cents for the men. In fact, they are paid 65 cents and $1.05. Rates were fixed by the government in April 1965 for three zones: Halifax, the other towns, the rest of the province. Here the regular working week is 48 hours. Time and a half is paid for additional work after the regular eight hours. The workers are often recalled for a period of three hours. People return without complaint.

There are going to be important developments in fishing, particularly in Cape Breton Island. The government has designated four critical zones which will be the first in the Island to receive aid: Chéticamp, Sydney, Louisbourg and Petit-de-Gras. The departure of about 1,000 emigrants last year would have hastened the government's decision to put into effect a three-year aid programme.

Under this new programme, production will be raised to 25 million pounds at Chéticamp by the use of three steel trawlers, 135 feet long and costing $800,000 each. (A federal subsidy will cover 50 per cent of the cost.) This innovation means work for 60 more fishermen, the growth of the factory and the employment of 180 people. The cost will be $600,000, 25 per cent of which will be covered by a grant. So the total cost of the project will be $3 million.

However, because of icebergs, the fish will be landed at Louisbourg during the winter and brought to Chéticamp by truck. The two Acadian co-operatives will be almost the only employers in the fish industry in Inverness. Part of the project will, when brought into being, spread along the coast: landing facilities will be set up at Pleasant Bay to the north (30 fishermen), and Inverness (30 to 40 fishermen), Mabou (30 fishermen) and Judique (30 to 40 fishermen) to the south. Up until now these areas have dealt with lobster-fishing and it is hoped to widen the variety of the catch. It is true that there were few facilities for anything other than lobster fishing: harbours and equipment were lacking and there was little call commercially for other fish. A harbour is to be built at Inverness.

Most fishermen are over 40. If young people do not take up fishing, there will be a problem four or five years from now. The trawlers will be comfortable so as to attract young people. The project is going to improve the economy of the French section of the county.

NOTE: We were told that a local factory had changed hands. The factory processes 332,000 pounds of lobster, 800,000 pounds of cod and 500,000 pounds of mackerel. The labour employed fluctuates between 5 and 20 men.

Interview - One captain of a boat fitted out for Danish seining has a crew of three. Seining is done up to eight times a day. They sail as far as Newfoundland waters (a journey taking 7 hours) to fish, and 25,000 pounds of fish is the minimum catch needed to break even on the trip. June is the best month, but fishing continues until November. There is a problem with the ice needed to keep the fish fresh - there isn't enough. A second ice-making machine is needed.

Interview - A coastal fisherman - he and his wife are about 50 years old and have no children - worked near Moose Jaw and at Shawinigan in the twenties. But since 1927, he does not appear to have left the district. His life and work are solitary. He is disillusioned and takes no interest in politics; he has no great hopes. He is a hard-working fisherman who works regularly. He lives near the strip of sand which joins the coast to Chéticamp Island. He gets up while it is still dark to go to the small harbour of La Pointe (on the island). His whole life is governed by fishing. He works as late as possible into the cold season. In winter, he and his wife watch television a lot.

When he was younger, he fished for swordfish in the Baie-St-Laurent, just to the north of Cape Breton. It was an adventurous but well-paid type of fishing. The three-man crew using dory as bait, watched, and attacked the swordfish with a harpoon. The weight of the fish was usually 250 to 300 pounds, and sometimes reached 500.

Work in the Forest

The exploitation of the forest covering of the plateau has given rise to serious socio-economic problems. Some years ago the wood for pulping was still sent to pulp mills outside the region; some wood was even sent as far as Quebec. After promotion by the Nova Scotia government a large pulp mill has been established at Point Tupper near Hawksbury on the Canso Strait. This mill, the Nova Scotia Pulp Company, uses 287,000 cords of wood a year in the production of kraft paper. The many comments we heard in Inverness and outside were, in general, bitter and harsh. We have chosen the most significant and include the enquiries we made on the plateau in the areas where the wood is cut.

A large number of lumberjacks come from Chéticamp and St-Joseph-du-Moine, and wood for pulping is also sent from the harbour at Chéticamp from time to time. "Q" has been buying wood for 10 years. The wood comes from 150 "farmers" scattered between Chéticamp and Margaree. The price is $10 a cord for wood left by the roadside and $16 if it is brought to the jetty.

Interview - A local businessman (an Acadian) says there are 100 woodcutters at Chéticamp; 75 come from Ste-Anne (Victoria County) and the rest are scattered. A "jobber" from here hires 10 men; $5 is paid for each cord cut. Those who cut 2½ cords a day are exhausted by 35 to 40 years of age and have to change jobs. The lumberjacks frequently return to the job after supper. If there were service roads joining the tracks which lead up to the plateau from each village, the woodcutters could return home every evening.

The pulpwood cut on the plateau is now sent to the Point Tupper factory. The provincial government would be opposed to the dispersal of the raw material since it is responsible for building this factory. Some Acadians would like to send the wood from Chéticamp, but it is now sent from the east side of Cape Breton. Negotiations are under way to send the wood elsewhere than Point Tupper, including discussions with a purchasing company (it is proposed to send a small cargo to them this year).

NOTE: The present price of wood at Point Tupper is $22 a cord. The Chéticantins plan to raise it to $30. However, when this project is examined, a certain lack of knowledge and realism becomes evident. They have made no estimate of forest reserves and no attempt has been made to obtain felling rights on Crown lands. Finally, they have no idea of how the price is to be increased.

Interview - An expert on this region explained that Father John Gillis (the then director of the Antigonish extension service) and Wendell Coldwell (a 50-year-old lawyer who had lived on a farm for 15 years and had a teaching certificate from Antigonish) had conceived the plan of organizing the small farmers from the six eastern counties of Nova Scotia for the sale of pulpwood.

When this attempt was made, the inertia and silence of the provincial government showed their hostility to the plan and their support for private industry. (This was the period when the mill at Point Tupper was decided on and established.) The private companies wanted complete freedom to establish the prices of wood for pulp. The government did not want a Wood Marketing Board. One reason for the failure of the attempt was that the local organizations were not organized within a provincial association. Fortunately matters have now changed and the Provincial Woodlot Owners' Committee was recently set up by the Nova Scotia Federation of Agriculture. A minimum price for pulpwood has not yet been fixed in Nova Scotia.

To see for ourselves what was happening, we climbed to the inland plateau from Frizzleton, using Fielding Road; we went to the places where the wood is actually cut and where the lumberjacks live. In the sector we visited, the Nova Scotia Pulp Company had a concession to cut on Crown lands. Five "jobbers" work there and about 50,000 cords (eight feet long) of wood for pulp are cut annually.

The Highland Pulp camp has the best lumberjacks' camp in Cape Breton Island. It is made up of large, aluminum-covered trailers, all having their specific uses: dormitories, office and shop, kitchen and dining room. There is real comfort and the cooking seems to be good. However, we noticed that the trailers could not house everybody and that "shacks" are also used. The day we made our enquiry it was raining, the trailers were surrounded by mud and the men were forced to stay indoors. We entered a trailer in which about a dozen Chéticamp men were living.

Interview - Joseph "R" gave us most of our information. He is an energetic, intelligent, jovial man, who has five children, is 50 years old and lives at Petit-Étang (a northern suburb of Chéticamp). At 18 he wanted to leave his village and he was offered a wage of $15 a day in the building trade in Montreal. He could not accept the offer because his father, who was a farmer, fell ill; the young man became the breadwinner of the family. For some time he worked at the rate of a dollar an hour in the fish-processing factory belonging to the co-operative. He has the reputation of being a good worker and a good lumberjack. As such, his gross income does not exceed $3,500 a year (some lumberjacks make only $1,500). He works from June 1 to December 15. Last year he did not "clear" $1,800 out of a gross income of $3,400. They cut "branched" fir and spruce.

For the time that a $250 saw lasts (2 to 3 years at the most) it can cost $300 to $400 in repairs (Table 7). The price of chain oil has risen from $2.52 to $8 per gallon (5 gallons required). Operating costs for the saw (including gas and oil) could run to about $3 a day. Our informant had already spent $12.10 on gas and oil alone in 9 working days.

TABLE 7 - SEASONAL EXPENSES OF A CHÉTICAMP LUMBERJACK

Board $2.50/day (basis: 6, 20-day months)	$300
Transportation to Chéticamp ($3 x 24 weeks)	72
Saw - gasoline and oil ($20/month x 6)	120
Saw - 5 chains ($18 x 5)	90
Saw - repairs - minimum	75
Work clothes	100
	$757

Before the war, lumberjacks made $3 a cord, and $6 during the war. This meant $6 for a 4-foot cord. Now they make $5 for a stacked cord, 8 feet long. There is talk of just "slashing" for $2 to $3 a cord. In Ontario, lumberjacks make $9.21 a cord and pay $1.75 for board; this is for an 8-hour working day, and the men get $21 a day for paid holidays. Here, they fear the arrival of European emigrants who will work for anything.

The men said, "This is the best camp in Cape Breton, but at Baddeck, at the small jobbers' camps, you're like animals. Inside the shacks it's just as wet as outdoors. You spend half of what you make. At X's on Hunters' Mountain you eat potatoes and codfish. At Y's at Loch Man you "batch" and starve to death. At Z's at East Bay (Sydney) you eat baloney three times a day and dried codfish. The midges are unbearable. Measurements are made without government (measuring) scales. They buy them or they throw them out."

Interview - In the camp of B the jobber comes from New Brunswick; the workers come from the same province (Gloucester County). A measurer and lumberjack said they were cutting here for the second year. Before, they were cutting in

Bathurst. Here they're cutting "worm kill" wood. Lumberjacks average $75 weekly, truck drivers $95, loaders (mechanical equipment) $90 to $92. Board costs $1.90 a day. There are not many good lumberjacks here; that's why they go looking for men in Newfoundland.

In Forestville (N.B.) a lumberjack makes $6.25 a cord for wood left where it is cut. Others make $7.40 (+ 1½ cents a foot for distance covered). A good lumberjack cuts 4 cords a day. (Compare the earnings of a "good" local lumberjack, who cuts only 2½ cords.)

Comments on Agriculture

There is no need to go into detail about farming among the Acadians. This activity was long ago reduced to its simplest form. Obviously, the original area, squeezed in between the mountain and the gentle rise along the coast, which separates it from the sea, is still under cultivation. We noticed this during a trip through Petit-Étang, Belle-Marche and Plateau. A good number of farms were clearly subsistence units.

We found a few farmers. Two of them work together. They share their tools and spend all their time on farming. One of them has bought the huge barn which formerly belonged to the local hospital, and is specializing in beef cattle. These farmers "make a good living".

Another farmer grazes 4 cows on 15 acres. This area is not enough, and he also buys fodder regularly from neighbouring farms. He has his hay mown by the two farmers previously mentioned. He has been selling his milk by the bottle in Chéticamp for the last 12 years. He used to have eight milk cows. His son is in the Army, stationed at Calgary. He has been in the Army for 10 years (joined at 17) and will be entitled to a pension in 10 years time. This son was not encouraged to go into farming. "Here you work from sunrise to sunset. You're your own boss, but there's always work to do."

There are a few full-time farmers at Grand-Étang as well. Five of these and three from Chéticamp organized co-operative pasturing on the island in 1961. They bought 700 acres for $7,500. They are raising 120 cattle and 200 sheep. ARDA later granted them some assistance in the form of a refund of $2,275, plus 50 per cent of future expenses. They pay $125 a year in rent for 25 years.

MARGAREE

Because of the great size of Inverness County and the linear distribution of the population, it was difficult to study everything directly. It is uncertain, too, whether an exhaustive treatment would have been any more satisfactory in a rural area. The concentration of the Acadians in a relatively small area posed few problems, but the scattering of the Scots from the Strait of Canso to the north of the county led us to pick out one representative area: we left out all the southern section of the county, and studied only the Scottish sector which adjoins the Acadian sector.

The area we chose was the valley of the Margaree River, cut off 10 miles upstream by the north-east branch which enters the plateau, shaped like a quince, and the south-west branch which rises from Lake Ainslie. There we find the small Scottish farmers of the interior.

The sea, the shore and hilly country together form a picturesque area in contrast to the dilapidated housing of the lethargic coal mining centres: Mabou, Port Hood, and Inverness. In Inverness, particularly, the "company" houses stand in long and sad lines, and the only activity is centred around little second-class businesses. The few mines in operation (with the exception of Ste-Rose) use obsolete equipment and depend heavily on federal grants to make ends meet.

A Coal Mine

The coal mine at Ste-Rose, which has been under its present management since 1945, is small but well organized. (It was in operation before this time.) The coal bed is 400 feet down, and is reached by an inclined plane of 2,000 feet. The bituminous coal vein is eight feet thick; it is an excellent vein. They are using the retreating room and piling method of mining. Rooms of 20 by 25 feet are cut out. The loss is about 35 to 40 per cent. There is also some question of trying long-wall retreating, continuous mining.

The average annual production is 40,000 tons. The provincial market absorbs 60 per cent of this production. It should be noted that government buildings and schools have coal furnaces. The industrial selling price is $6.75 a ton as compared with the cost to the mine of producing it, which is $9. Profits come from domestic sales. In this case, most sales are for domestic heating. They sell coal as much as a hundred miles from Canso, in Halifax, Truro and to a few clients in Guysborough. The "fines" are sent to Quebec. The government pays transportation at the rate of $5.06 to $5.89 a ton. For domestic heating the coal is delivered by truck. Finally, profits are reinvested in equipment.

There are 50 men on the payroll. Another dozen are truck drivers. Earnings run about $4,000 to $5,000 underground (plus bonus) and $3,500 above ground. Weekly earnings average from $25 to $30 daily for a 6 day week. The men get two weeks holidays. They have workmen's compensation, but no family health insurance plan, at least not before the negotiation of the next labour contract with the union. The workers come from 20 miles around: Chéticamp, Inverness, and Margaree.

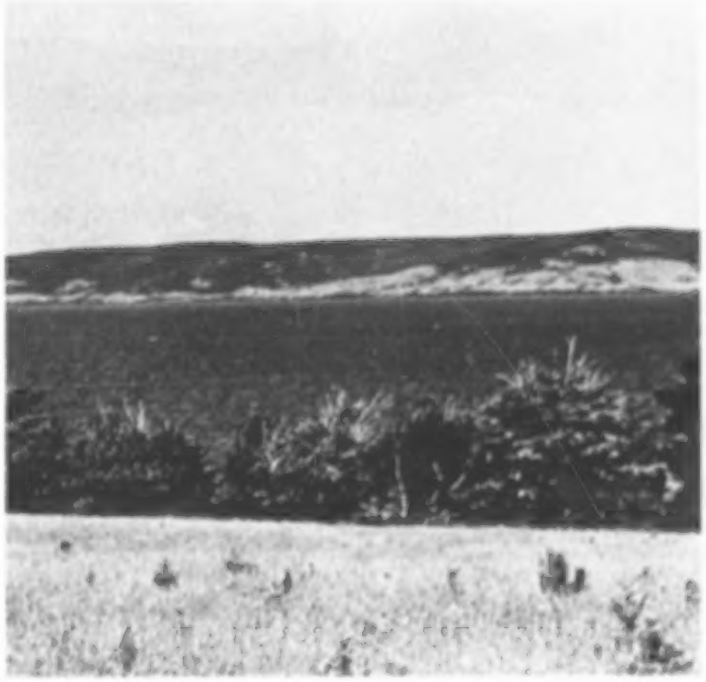


Figure 21. Scots occupy the interior of Inverness County; at the northern end of Lake Ainslie the clearings of Kirkwood on the hillside.

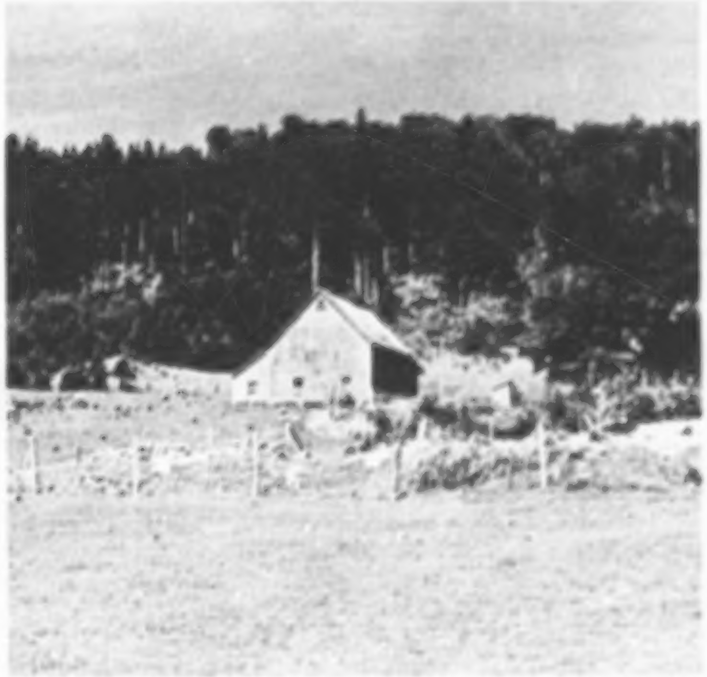


Figure 22. Typical Scottish subsistence farm (East Lake) on Lake Ainslie; a few sheep browse over poor land in a small cleared area, surrounded by trees.

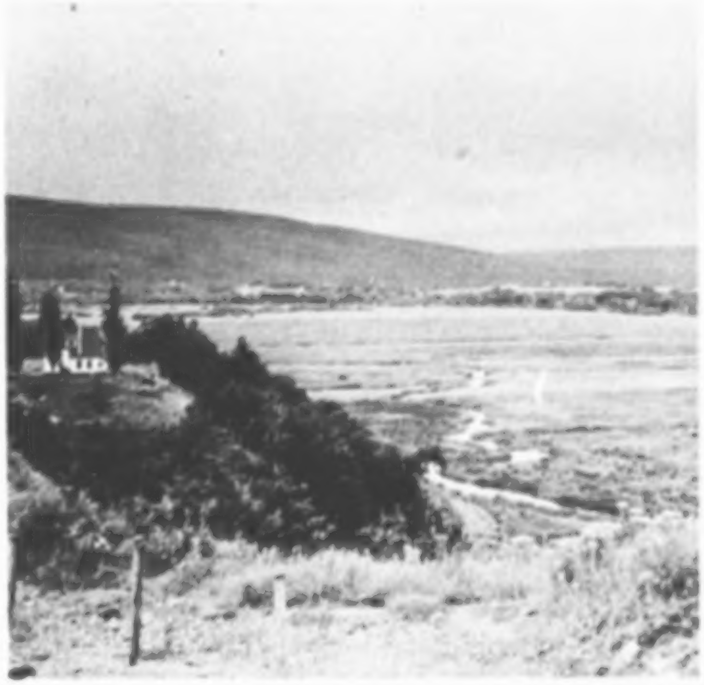


Figure 23. Cattle graze in the low grassy valley of the Margaree River which flows through the wooded ribbon in the centre of the photograph.

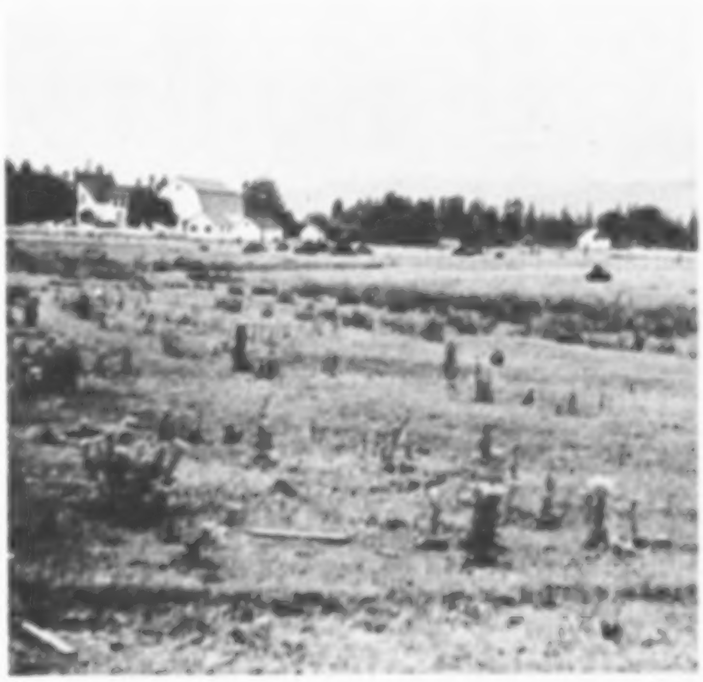


Figure 24. "V" family's farm in central valley of the Margaree; buildings well kept but land needs plowing.

The Scottish Farmers of the Northeast Margaree

Interview - "U", 64 years old, owns a small general store in Margaree Centre (near Cranton Section). He is also a local buyer of sheep, pulpwood and other produce. An interview with him showed attitudes typical of the older people of the area towards its present evolution. Formerly, he always had a reserve supply of 70 to 100 sheep for the butcher, and he bought as many as 1,500 a year. Today he has no reserve supply and buys only 200 sheep. In his youth people worked too hard; today not hard enough. They used to be satisfied with sheep's wool, kerosene lamps, the horse and buggy. People were healthy. Now there are two hospitals in the area and they are inadequate. "People are looking for a fancy life," he says. What they need is an industry. Unemployment insurance is making people lazy. Everybody is buying on credit. Young people are interested only in cars. People should be kept on the farm; to do that you have to help them.

Interview - The ancestors of "V" (40 years old) came from Connecticut. They were probably Loyalists. The farm, in Margaree Centre, has 130 acres of which 35 are under cultivation, and the buildings are well kept. The livestock consist of six cows and some calves. They are being raised for beef. The farm supports "V", his parents (his father is 76) and his married brother. They have equipment; four farmers clubbed together to buy a hay baler. In his opinion, co-operative purchase of farm machinery is a good thing. The volume of production on local farms is not great enough for a person to have both a car and a tractor. Still, a person can make a living.

Interview - "W" (Margaree Valley)owns the Lucky Dollar food store. He is about 55 years old. "W's" grandfather came to the area at the age of 6 with his parents, immigrants from the Scottish Highlands. They suffered great material hardships, and lived a borderline existence. His father was a blacksmith. He died recently at the age of 87. He shoed

10 horses on his last birthday. He had eight children. Seven of them emigrated to Boston. "W", the youngest, stayed in the village.

The area of the upper valley of the North East Margaree has never had a large population (Frizzleton-Kingcross). Some localities are now completely deserted. In Forest Glen, for example, 45 years ago there were 20 families. Forest Glen was located on Lake Pembroke, three miles inland from Cap Lemoyne. Today, even the road has disappeared. At the same time, there were 40 families in Kingcross, and 20 families only 20 years ago. In 1875 the people of Frizzleton discovered good land on the high plateau and planned to develop it for farming. This was how Fielding Road, which now leads to the lumber camps, originated.

The population was nine-tenths Scottish. (This proportion is probably still the same.) Theirs was a subsistence economy. There was some trade with Chéticamp: they traded birch bark (used for insulation in the building of houses) for butter, fish, etc. Here, disintegration set in after the Second World War. Thirty years ago there were five or six mobile sawmills. Young people sought better paying jobs elsewhere. "There's no farming to speak of; pulp and little lumbering." In the summer there is also some guiding for fishermen.

NOTE: We took a long trip through the region of the North East Margaree, the South East Margaree and around Lake Ainslie. The general impression is one of somnolence. The first sector in particular is practically abandoned. Buildings are falling in ruins. There is not a living soul to be seen. The lumbering on the plateau causes some activity, of course, and creates a few jobs, some trucking and a little business. This is quite limited. Even at Lake Ainslie, particularly at Kirkwood, where the lowlands have been reduced to their simplest terms, they have cleared the hillsides along the edge of the water. Long ago man had retreated before the forest and the forest has taken over the countryside once more. The same phenomenon is evident north of Margaree Forks, even though the valley there is relatively broad and flat (St-Michel).

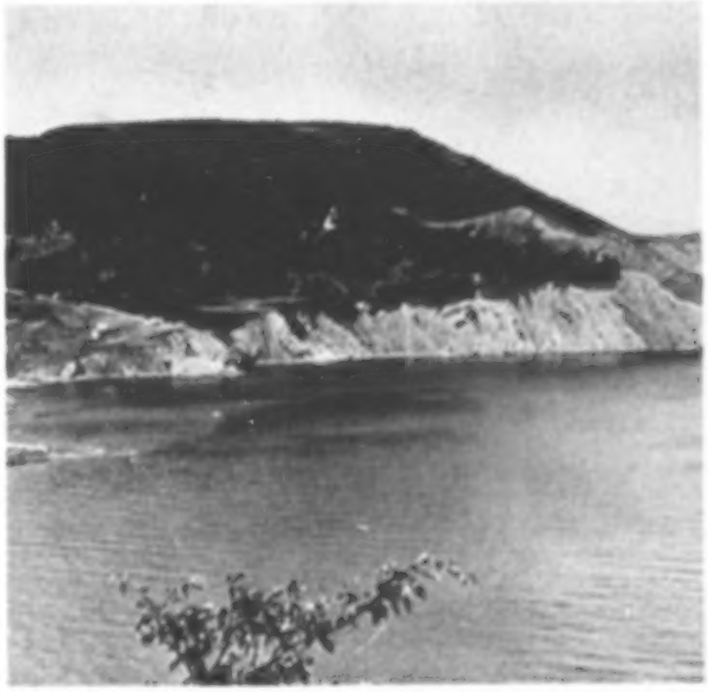


Figure 25. Shanties of Meat Cove cling to the mountain along St. Lawrence Bay near Cape St. Lawrence at the tip of Cape Breton Island.

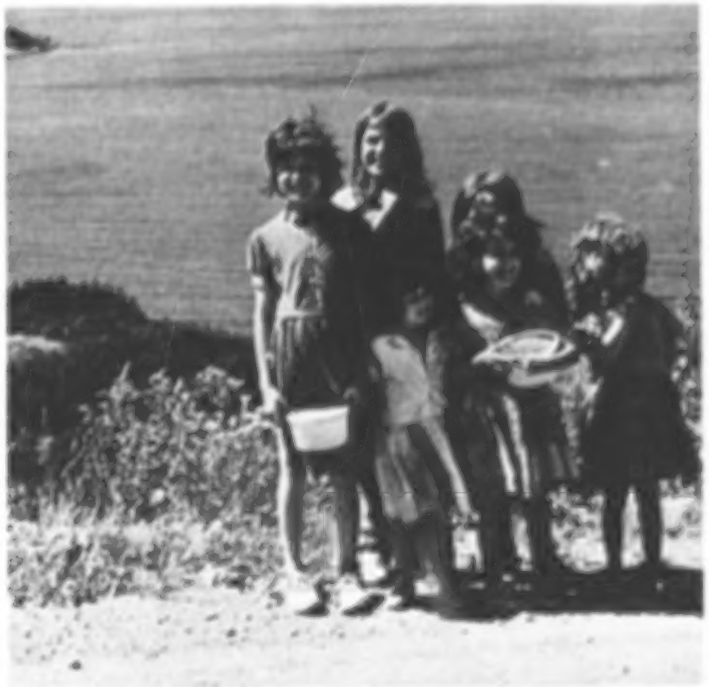


Figure 26. Children of Capstick, Scottish or Irish descent, come home from picking raspberries; sunshine and happy faces mask living conditions.

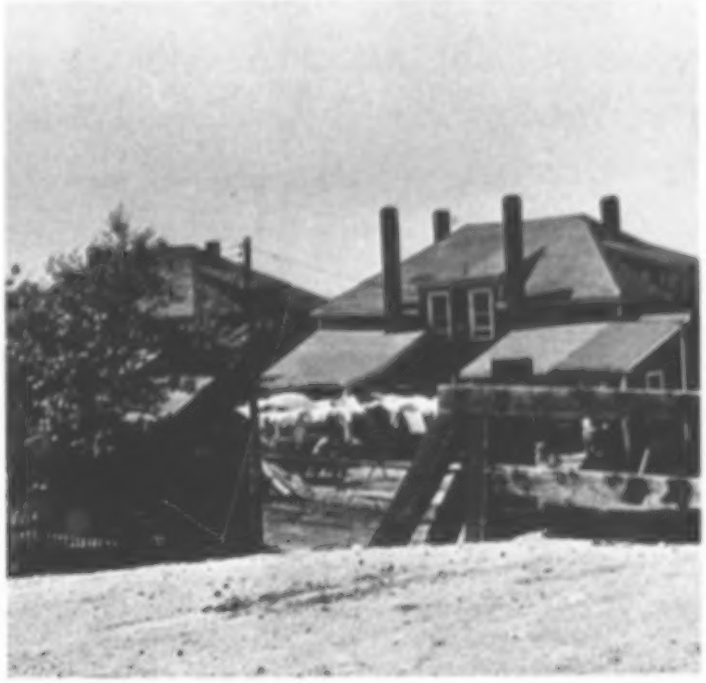


Figure 27. Inverness still looks like a mining centre, with its company houses, but it has long since fallen into torpor.

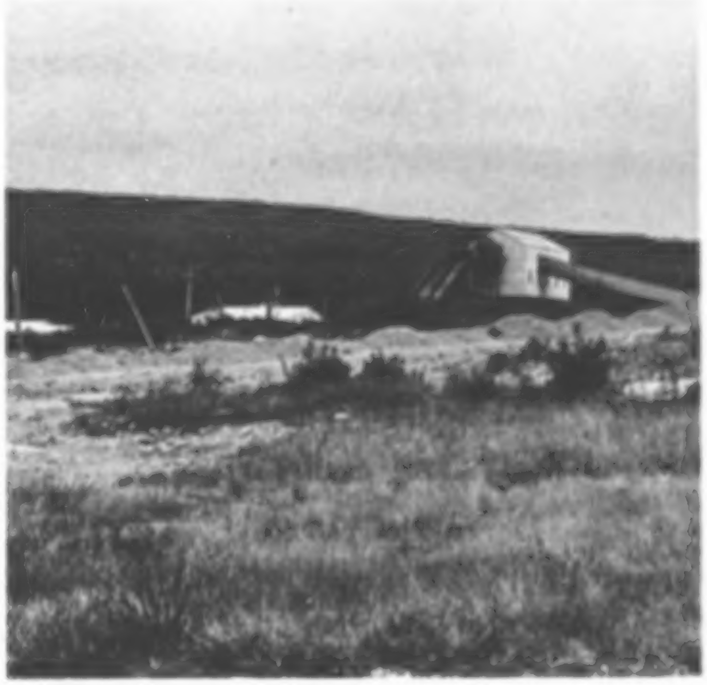


Figure 28. Small mine at Ste-Rose employs 40-50 men extracting bituminous coal, maintains steady work.

Interview - A local Scottish leader says the Scots of the area are lazy and lack initiative. And yet, with eight hours of work a day they ought to be able to have some success. The Dutch who came here after the war are doing well with their farms. The Scots do not pass on the farming instinct to their children. They encourage them to emigrate instead; they want a weekly pay cheque. The Scots have no community spirit.

NOTE: The tax rate is $3.34 for every hundred dollars of assessment. This assessment is based on 85 per cent of the property's value. Approximately 45 per cent of the income of the municipality of Inverness comes from taxes ($450,000). The provincial government makes up most of the deficit, $60,000. Besides this, there is a residual 10 per cent which comes from the rental of lumbering concessions and other sources. Since the reorganization of the school system in 1957, the cost of education has increased considerably. However, thanks to the Foundation Program in Education, Inverness pays only 17 to 20 per cent of the actual costs. Its quota is based on the individual's ability to pay. In other counties of Nova Scotia the quota could be as high as 60 to 80 per cent.

MAJOR ASPECTS OF REGIONAL LIFE AND POVERTY

The Scots and Acadians established themselves on Cape Breton Island 200 years ago, settling along part of the west coast and in a few valleys. For generations they stayed in the same places, and the inhabited area grew very little, if at all. Soon there was no more need for it to grow: emigration balanced the natural increase.

Inverness produces emigrants, and in the last 60 years the actual size of the population has fallen 33 per cent. Among the Acadians, large families have no qualms about emigrating, and Chéticamp and St-Joseph have lost 600 people in the last five years; 600 out of an original 3,600! The Scots produce fewer emigrants because they marry later and have fewer children.

The total population of Inverness County (18,718 in 1961) is barely that of a medium-sized city, and far from being urbanized (barely 13 per cent) it is spread out thinly along the edge of a plateau which has little tolerance for man.

Two-thirds of the rural population of Inverness (87 per cent of the total) are classed under the sub-heading of non-agricultural workers: fishermen, lumberjacks, labourers and miners. The technological level is generally low. This low level means lower earnings: 77 per cent of the working population earns less than $3,000, and a third of the wage-earners (1,220) made less than $1,200 in 12 months. Everyone works, but not all year long: 53 per cent of the wage earners work less than 40 weeks a year. Inverness County provides emigrants to meet the needs of industrialization and urbanization within the market economy, but the county itself gives the impression of being far away from the mainstream of present trends. Traditional, even archaic, attitudes at both the individual and the social level perpetuate traits which are incompatible with a market economy. Artisans' production techniques are still largely serving a subsistence economy. This may be illustrated by the farming problem of the Scots.

Generally, the commercial development of primary industries is handicapped by excessive individualism, which is perpetuated in a subsistence economy (Gentilcore 1952, 1956). This individualism means lack of co-operation that hampers the standardization of natural products and prolongs the use of old-fashioned methods. These handicaps are particularly noticeable in farming.

Farming is still based, as it was 70 years ago, on hay, oats and potatoes. Although milk and livestock are the principal sources of income, there is an obvious lack of fodder crops to feed the stock. Pastures, too, are neglected, and farming on a large scale is generally ignored. Few farmers practise systematic rotation, and few use manure or fertilizers effectively. Another handicap is the fact that the Scots prefer difficult, austere and isolated areas. This has led to the land being cut up into tiny farms in Inverness, and to the attitudes stigmatized by Gentilcore as "small patch mentalities". Another source of difficulties is the distance between the areas which use the techniques of farming efficiently (New Glasgow, Truro, etc.).

In Victoria, Inverness, Pictou and Antigonish counties, the Scots are in the majority. The Island counties belong to a pioneer economy, and the mainland counties to a market economy. The bio-physical setting is clearly more favourable in the second case, and the co-operative movement is highly developed for the marketing and transport of produce. Meat production is the basis of the farming industry. These counties also have the advantage of the presence of an urban market, New Glasgow and Trenton, besides the mining centres of Westville, Stellarton and Thorburn.

The strong individualism retained by both the Scots and the Acadians is more the result of their "natural ties" to their original ethnic group than of their isolation and rural environment (Hobson 1954). This is true, but the response to the phenomenon is different in the two groups: withdrawal of the individual among the Scots, community life with the Acadians. The former are gloomy and withdrawn, listless, creatures of habit, individualistic and attached to the land. The latter are cheerful and outgoing, active, industrious, sociable and men of the sea. The former are set in their ways, the latter still have the qualities which sent their ancestors out to man schooners and sail the seas as far as the West Indies in the early nineteenth century. The houses of the Acadians are in plain sight, facing the sea; the houses of the Scots are often hidden in small clearings.

The Department of Extension of St. Francis Xavier University (Antigonish), which has certainly played an important part in developing a better and co-operative spirit among the Scots of Pictou and Antigonish, is preparing to begin work on South Inverness. This area has already been organized into local committees, and during the winter of 1965 they began the distribution and trial of study guides (evaluation of needs) in each locality. Now they are going to send out 600 family questionnaires. (This introductory work will be carried out under the auspices of ARDA.) The Department of Extension was set up in 1928, and since that time has made extremely generous and effective efforts to build up co-operative structures among the small, unprotected and exploited fishermen. (We have already discussed the success of the fishermen's co-operative at Richibuctou Village in Kent.) Through a patient "kitchen meeting" technique they have gradually introduced credit unions and co-operatives for marketing, consumption and housing.

In Antigonish the Department of Extension recently started an eight-month course for foreigners, mostly Africans and Koreans. They also added an accelerated six-week summer course, and a few Canadians are finally attending with the encouragement of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. We feel strongly that these courses should be organized systematically to meet the needs of Nova Scotia immediately and on a massive scale; we will come back to this later.

Under clause 6 of the new Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement (ARDA), a pilot region may be established, grouping nine counties of the north and west of Nova Scotia, including Inverness. There would be a general inventory, and a plan of action drawn up within a year and a half. Among the Scots, particularly, this would aim at enlarging the farm units and introducing forestry techniques for the woodlots. Among the Acadians the reorganization of fishing and the processing industry is already well under way.

Many observers question the present structure of the groups working on the application of ARDA; they feel that the county committee and the sector committees (fishing, agriculture, etc.) are inefficient. It seems that the creation of local committees regrouped on the geographical regional interest level would be realistic. As for the co-operative system, they emphasize that democracy can be overdone and the co-operatives often have to support a good deal of deadwood.

An exemplary community life among the Acadians has not prevented the appearance of certain problems, problems which are the more obvious, even to the outsider, because the community is situated geographically in a small area. First, let us consider lumbering, for which the two French communities supply 125 men. The wages and working conditions of the lumberjacks are unacceptable. They are unbelievable. We have already devoted all the space necessary for describing a repulsive situation. In the matter of incomes will simply recall the scale of the lumberjack's weekly average (gross) earnings: Cape Breton Island $90 (basic index 100), northern New Brunswick $150 (166), Ontario $220 (244). Acadian lumberjacks are poor wretches and their families' standards of living are below average. They are poor people with a "job". We can see no hope for the future.

The situation is different for the small woodlot owners. There are about 150 small operators among the Acadians. We do not have similar statistics on the Scots, but in their case, too, the prices paid by buyers would seem to be abnormally low. At last it looks as if the provincial Federation of Agriculture is going to take things in hand. They would be in a good position, too, to take up the defence of the lumberjacks.

NOTE: The Nova Scotia Federation of Agriculture, has at last organized the Provincial Woodlot Owners' Committee (Nova Scotia Federation of Agriculture [n.d.]). The problems which the small woodlot owners must face are listed as follows: inadequate care of the forest, diminished

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> resources, insufficiency of concessions, low prices paid by buyers and no attention paid to them in determining prices and market conditions, and lack of organization.
>
> According to the conclusions of the MacSween Report, recently presented to the provincial government, the basic problem of the small owners is their lack of organization. They should work towards establishing an official marketing board. Such bodies already exist in Nova Scotia for liquid milk, pork and also, it seems, for lumber. The texts cite the example of Quebec's 19 joint plans for the marketing of pulpwood.

There would have to be a vote among the owners under the Nova Scotia Natural Products Act. We recommend the formula of the Producer Negotiating Board, which is authorized to conduct price negotiations but cannot bind anyone to transactions concerning sales and purchases. Its effective powers would be the negotiation of agreements with buyers and the establishment of standards of quality and production and sales quotas. Obviously there would be an arbitrating committee with powers of decision in case of disputes.

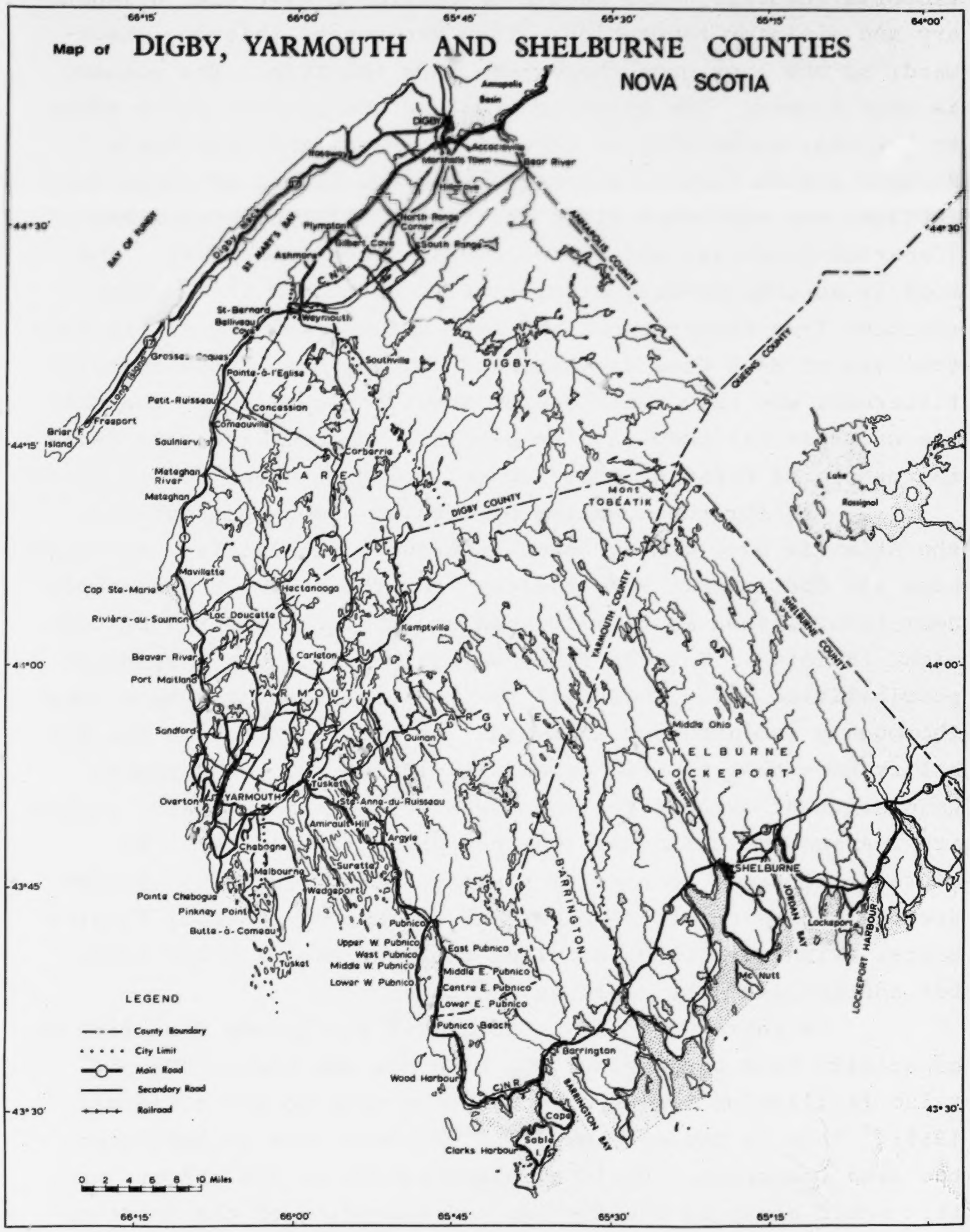
The lumberjacks are poor people who work. There are also poor people who do not work. These people are the "hundred families" of Chéticamp, a phenomenon which we find difficult to explain, even considering the low intelligence that some people say they display. (The number of poor families varies between 46 and 100, according to the informant.) One hundred families out of 550 are a great many. The phenomenon is all the more curious in that there does not seem to be (after a superficial examination) any marked social disintegration. We refer here mainly to the two principal groups: the plateau group and the causeway group. They contribute to the life of the community but on a reduced scale. About fifty families depend on welfare for a living.

We cannot ignore the cases of Meat Cove and Capstick, even though they are located geographically on the edge of the region under consideration. These are two tiny neighbouring localities on either side of the line between Inverness and

Victoria counties. The people of Chéticamp give them a legendary and sinister reputation: they are rough, thieving, backward; no one ever goes there. We made the trip. The scenery is magnificent. The majestic crest of the plateau falls sheer to the sea, especially at Cape St. Lawrence and Cape North. Rickety little houses, decorated with the bodies of rusty automobiles, are scattered along the cliffs of St. Lawrence Bay (Capstick-Victoria) and Cap Noir (Meat Cove-Inverness). The road is an unbelievably dizzy trail According to a summer resident from Pennsylvania who owns a fisherman's hut, the five families of Meat Cove are hard-working and hospitable Scottish fishermen, who have their doubts about the quality of the people of Capstick; they live on welfare. We ought to have asked the people of Capstick about those from Meat Cove.

As for the question of fishing among the Acadians, the Atlantic Development Board apparently has little long-range hope for Chéticamp. Nevertheless, for the near and reasonably near future, jobs must be created and children assured of technical training. This is fine; we will worry about long-range possibilities later, when all the regional phenomena have been thoroughly isolated and analysed. It will be noted on the liability side that the fishermen are old and the young people uninterested. Except for those who work on small boats, people are leaving the business. One new project would be to encourage the Scots to take up fishing. The main things needed are the expansion of the plant and the use of powerful fishing boats. Fishing already provides the Acadians with 250 jobs; but another 240 jobs could be created.

A thorny problem to settle is the income from fishing especially from processing. Up till now one hears, "People raise families on $2,160 a year." Can this go on? (Caldwell 1965). This is the very basis of economic life in Chéticamp, the area concerned. Regional organization is one answer, and this would apply to the fishing and lumbering of the Acadians as much as to the residual farming of the Scots.


Map of DIGBY, YARMOUTH AND SHELBURNE COUNTIES
NOVA SCOTIA
66°15'
66°00'
65°45'
65°30'
65°15'
64°00'
44°30'
44°15'
44°00'
43°45'
43°30'
Annapolis Basin
DIGBY
Acacia Valley
Marshalls Town
Bear River
Hillgrove
North Range Corner
South Range
Plympton
Gilbert Cove
Ashmore
BAY OF FUNDY
Digby Neck
ST. MARY'S BAY
Long Island
Brier Island
Freeport
C.N.R.
St-Bernard
Belliveau Cove
Weymouth
Grosses Coques
Pointe-à-l'Eglise
Southville
Petit-Ruisseau
Concession
Comeauville
Saulnierville
Meteghan River
Meteghan
Corberrie
CLARE
DIGBY
ANNAPOLIS COUNTY
QUEENS COUNTY
DIGBY COUNTY
Mont TOBEATIK
Lake Rossignol
Mavillette
Cap Ste-Marie
Hectanooga
Rivière-au-Saumon
Lac Doucette
Kemptville
Beaver River
Carleton
Port Maitland
YARMOUTH
YARMOUTH COUNTY
SHELBURNE COUNTY
ARGYLE
Middle Ohio
SHELBURNE
LOCKEPORT
Sandford
Quinan
Tusket
Overton
YARMOUTH
Ste-Anne-du-Ruisseau
Amirault Hill
Chebogue
Argyle
Melbourne
Surette
Wedgeport
BARRINGTON
SHELBURNE
JORDAN BAY
Pointe Chebogue
Pinkney Point
Butte-à-Comeau
Tusket
Pubnico
Upper W. Pubnico
West Pubnico
Middle W. Pubnico
Lower W. Pubnico
East Pubnico
Middle E. Pubnico
Centre E. Pubnico
Lower E. Pubnico
Pubnico Beach
Lockeport
LOCKEPORT HARBOUR
Mc Nutt
Barrington
Wood Harbour
C.N.R.
BARRINGTON BAY
Cape Sable
Clarks Harbour
LEGEND
County Boundary
City Limit
Main Road
Secondary Road
Railroad
0 2 4 6 8 10 Miles

CHAPTER IV

DIGBY-YARMOUTH-SHELBURNE - COASTAL, HIGH-QUALITY SETTLEMENT

GENERAL INFORMATION

Bio-Physical Setting

The counties of Digby, Yarmouth and Shelburne are essentially coastal; the inland region is desolate except for hunting and fishing for recreation and a little forestry.

The south-west region of Nova Scotia is part of the Atlantic highlands. It consists of a plateau of Devonian granite which is indented in the south-west, and which suffers from bad drainage resulting from glaciation: there is a succession of barrens, marshes and savannas. Black spruce cling to granite and quartz-bearing barrens. Red spruce, white pine and hemlock are found grouped together where the soil is deep enough. Far inland, in Shelburne, marshes abound and, also in the centre of the peninsula, the average altitude varies between 100 and 200 feet. There are a number of marshes in Yarmouth, but here lakes predominate and literally perforate the plateau like a sieve. "Mount" Tobeatic only just reaches 600 feet and the average altitude remains the same as that of Shelburne. The marshes finally disappear in Digby to be replaced by forests; the altitude reaches 300 and even 500 feet.

All life is concentrated on the coast. Differential erosion acts strongly on the quartz rocks and the shale, destroying the latter and leaving the former. Moreover, this precambrian complex penetrates far inland and forms the bedrock of Shelburne. The coast of Shelburne is, on the whole, as bleak as the inland region; the coast is unfertile and harsh. Rocks lie scattered on the shore which stretches out to the sea. The shore often appears only between sandy islets, covered with small conifers at sea level and often shrouded in mist.

Rust-coloured carrageen edges the tide line.

The sea has made breaches everywhere in the coast and penetrates inland in deep indentations. This is how the fine harbour of Shelburne was formed at the mouth of the Roseway; another harbour formed in this way is Lockeport at the mouth of the Jordan. Elsewhere the sea enters often only in the form of scanty "rock rivers". The great Lake Rossignol flows out at Liverpool by the Mersey in the east. The coastline is under water, and in the sea stand the large islands of Tusket, Cape Sable and McNutt.

The drowning of the southern coastline of Yarmouth has produced a countryside like a labyrinth. The long, ragged peninsulas are choked with sand and mud. The height of the land does not vary; it is all at sea level. Needless to say, communications are at their most difficult in this combination of islands and capes.

When the height of Chegoggin Point is reached the coastline becomes firmer and slightly straighter; the land here is friable and bordered with large beaches. The majestic Cape Saint Mary stands firm, marking the entrance to the bay of the same name. The coastline in this bay (40 miles long) is really breached by only one river, the Sissiboo, at Weymouth; the rivers are often only large streams. On the side facing the sea, the coast is bordered by the triassic lavas of Digby Neck, Long Island and Brier Island (20-foot tides on the average). At Digby and the western part of Yarmouth, finally, there are arable soils and the harsh Atlantic forest gives place to the Acadian mixed forest.

The interplay of lakes, rivers and marshes of the region makes up one of the most famous hunting and fishing grounds of Nova Scotia. Fishing here is mainly for trout and salmon in the Jordan, the Roseway, the Clyde and the Sable (Shelburne). The big game hunted here are deer and bear. There is a variety and abundance of game birds: grouse, snipe, woodcock, wild goose and duck.

The region has the advantage of a mild and moist climate with a long growing season. The average temperature for January is 25°F, and for July it is generally below 62°F. The frost-free period is from 120 to 140 days at Shelburne and north of Digby. Elsewhere on the coast, this period lasts more than 160 days. Rain is plentiful. The isohyetals, normally parallel to the ocean, drop from 55 inches in Shelburne to 50 inches in Yarmouth. At Digby, they are from 40 to 45 inches. The amount of soft snow which falls, from 70 to 110 inches, is moderate compared with that in the north of the Maritimes.

The region is distinctive for the special way in which moisture is distributed throughout the year. There are from 125 to 150 days of rain and 70 to 90 foggy days. It is one of the foggiest places in the world. July is particularly foggy. On the other hand, the mildness of the climate makes it possible to put to sea at any time during the year. This factor is vital for a region orientated to the sea.

Settlement

The south-west region of Nova Scotia was settled early in two distinct waves: the Acadians and the Loyalists. The former practised agriculture, fishing and small-scale shipbuilding; the latter practised fishing and commerce and founded the towns: Digby, Yarmouth, Shelburne and the abortive settlement of Weymouth. There was little contact between the two groups and they had no links. The ethnic frontiers have remained marked and, by this fact, so have the differences between the nature and the socio-economic behaviour of the two groups.

The Acadians live in the Township of Clare in Digby and the eastern parts of the townships of Yarmouth and Argyle; the Loyalists live in the towns, the north of Digby and all Shelburne.

In 1768, 30 Acadians who had set out from Annapolis arrived by way of the forest (Anon. 1945, 1950; Nova Scotia [n.d.], 1964). On December 23 of that year, Michel Franklin, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, persuaded the Provincial Council to agree to land grants to the Acadians. The land, situated between the Sissiboo River (Weymouth) and the northern border of Yarmouth, was made into the Township of Clare. On reswearing the oath of allegiance, each head of a family received 80 acres of land, and each woman and child 40 acres. The first concession was granted in 1771 (four families), the second in 1772 (four families) and the third in 1775 (44 families). In the beginning, people settled between St-Bernard and Point-à-l'Église.

The influence of the clergy was strong, but only where the priests were French speaking. Thus, Irish and English missionaries sent here in 1789 were not welcomed. Priests were rare and generally stayed for only short periods. Some years later the missionaries set up a system to compensate for their long absence. Authority was vested in four arbitrators of disputes, two assessors and two catechists. Strict orthodoxy was enforced and a couple would incur public punishment by marrying before a Protestant minister in the absence of a Catholic priest. Much later (September 17, 1877) Monsignor Hannan, the Archbishop of Halifax, drew attention in a sermon to the fact that there was not a single Acadian priest in Digby-Yarmouth, where there was a population of 15,000.

Progress was also slow in the field of education, and it was not until 1864 that a beginning was made in the organization of a school system. Before this, it was left to individual initiative, and more or less qualified travelling teachers did well. Religious of the Eudist congregation arrived in 1890 and it is to them that we owe the establishment of the Collège Ste-Anne at Point-à-l'Église.

The fish-filled waters of St. Mary's Bay attracted the Acadians. Fishermen caught cod, whiting, haddock and halibut. Herring and mackerel were netted or trapped by barriers made of long stakes driven into the sea bottom ("nijogan"). The cod were salted and dried. Lobsters were also caught. Another source of food was molluscs, especially cockles. There were also river fish: trout, pickerel, perch and salmon.

Soil and climate favoured agriculture. Pairs of oxen were yoked together. Cultivation of various types of crops gradually developed: sugarbeet, potato, cabbage and cranberry (in the marshes). Later, lettuce, celery, blueberries and fruit trees (apples and pears) were introduced. Sheep raising became important and continued so up until the last war. The same was true to a lesser degree of turkeys. People raised foxes, but this fur eventually gave way to mink.

Lumbering operations soon became important in the economic life of the Acadians. The first settlers obtained vast concessions but, because of the Acadians' ancestral tradition of dividing lands between sons, the land is now split into small holdings. However, cutting has always been wisely done and the wooded region has maintained a high value. The timber is pine, fir, spruce, maple, wild cherry, birch and oak. People soon started building sailing boats for fishing and trade, and fishing smacks; these boats soon gained a reputation for strength and elegance. Boats were outfitted to go to the West Indies and South America, and business was good on a barter basis - planks for sugar, molasses and salt.

The Acadians did not neglect crafts: they spun wool, made linen, crocheted, plaited or weaved rugs, made root baskets ("toby"), embossed leather, and made jewellery (from semi-precious stones like agate and jasper, found on the beach).

Development was obviously different for the Acadians who settled to the north of Yarmouth from those who settled in the east. In the latter region, where the Acadians were, but in smaller numbers, they resolutely took up fishing. Housing is different in the two areas. In Clare they proudly claim that they have the longest road in North America (30 miles): the main road is also the main street, and the houses which border it are relatively dense; the street is marked at intervals by daring and elegant churches, like the one at Pointe-à-l'Église (the biggest wooden church in Canada). In contrast, to the east of Yarmouth, the broken nature of the geographical milieu has led to a fragmentation of daily life and housing; this factor partly explains the character of the inhabitants, which is a little less open, and their more marked individuality.

On June 9, 1761, the first Britisher arrived at Town Point (Chebogue) from Sandwich, Massachusetts. During the winter, 80 more new families came from New England. The first winter was difficult but the Puritans - excellent pioneers - were enterprising. In 1785, the Loyalists came to join them. The area had had a good start, and Yarmouth eventually became the most important town in the region. It was the seat of the archbishopric, a centre for transport (Bar Harbour-Maine ferry, airport, rail terminal), fishing port and a commercial, administrative and industrial centre, mainly for textiles and fish.

However, the impact of the Loyalists was to affect Digby, Weymouth and Shelburne in particular. At Shelburne, 10,000 Loyalists from New York founded a town under the British flag. They were soon disenchanted. The milieu, which had limited resources, could not support them all and the emigrants themselves lacked experience in difficult living conditions. Many of them were middleclass and aristocratic New Yorkers. The population soon decreased to 2,000. But those who remained were stouthearted and took up fishing, the lumber trade and shipbuilding. They have not lost their skill and the sailing boats built for racing at Shelburne still have a high reputation. We must also mention a group of Dutch United Empire Loyalists from the states of New York and New Jersey who settled at Tusket in 1785. The Loyalists also went north from Yarmouth as far as Port Maitland.

The result at Weymouth was not so happy: the plans for a town were optimistically laid but it was a failure. Things went better at Digby. More than 1,500 Loyalists settled there. Digby has become a commercial and industrial town. Products manufactured in the region are exported, e.g., pulpwood and lumber. Smoked fish is processed there. The town is also a tourist centre, strategically placed to ensure links with New Brunswick through the port of Saint John. Pleasure boating is a particular feature here.

A certain unity in the bio-physical setting and the nature of settlement justifies the linking of Digby, Yarmouth and Shelburne. Obviously the link is stronger between the first two, but the addition of the third allows us to locate the phenomena more correctly and to stress the decay of the area which, taken as a whole, is a land's end.

Population

The south-west region of Nova Scotia has a population of 58,810, which is divided between Digby, Yarmouth and Shelburne (Table 8). In the perspective of the period of evolution from 1901 to 1961, the three counties show a marked decrease in population in 1931. The population of Digby has risen again and in 1961 it reached the same level as in 1901. The population of the Township of Clare has varied little, remaining at about 8,500. A more marked change in the population of the town of Digby has acted on a larger volume of population (an average of more than 11,000 people). It will be noted that the increase in the over-all population in 1961 was solely due to the increase in the population of the town of Digby, which registered a gain of 1,150 people over the period under consideration.

In Yarmouth, the size of population in the town of that name decreased in the twenties and thirties but has regained the 1931 level (about 7,000). The same is not true for the neighbouring municipality of Argyle to the east, where there has been a sharp decrease (at least 1,700 people since 1911). In Yarmouth County east, the bio-physical setting becomes unfavourable. Wedgeport even had the status of a town from 1911 to 1947, the year it lost this status. As in Digby, it is the town of Yarmouth which is responsible for the over-all increase. An increase of 2,200 people has been registered.

The population of Shelburne is small. Until 1951, the over-all volume was below that of 1901. After some increases and decreases, the Township of Barrington regained in 1961 the same figure as in 1901 (5,956 people). There has been a decrease in the number of people in the Township of Shelburne (4,668 inhabitants in 1961). Of the three areas which are called towns, Shelburne is really the only one with even a weak claim to the title with a population of 2,408; this is an increase of a thousand since 1911. There are 945 people in Clark's Harbour, which is isolated on Cape Sable Island. Lockeport, to the east, has a population of 1,231.

TABLE 8 - POPULATION OF DIGBY, YARMOUTH, SHELBURNE - 1901-1961

	Digby	Yarmouth	Shelburne
1901	20,322	22,869	14,202
1911	20,167	23,220	14,105
1921	19,612	22,374	13,491
1931	18,353	20,939	12,485
1941	19,472	22,415	13,251
1951	19,989	22,794	14,392
1961	20,216	23,386	15,208

On the whole, it seems evident that the dynamism of growth is present only in the towns. There are not many of these and they are not large; in Digby, Shelburne and Yarmouth, 89, 76 and 63 per cent respectively of the population are still rural. It goes without saying that most of this rural population is engaged in activities other than those connected with agriculture. In fact, for the same counties, 87, 97 and 87 per cent of the rural population is non-agricultural. We are dealing here with a rural population which has turned to the sea.

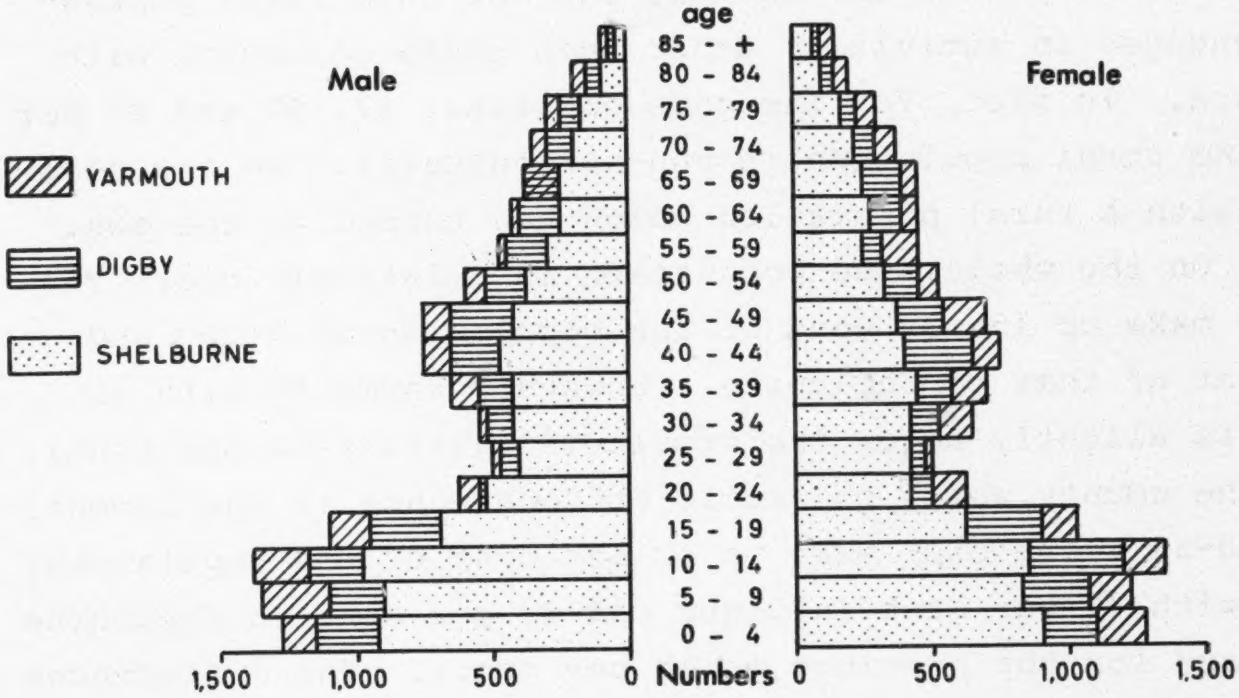
On the whole, the population is relatively old. The over-60's make up 15 per cent of the population of Digby and 14 per cent of that of Shelburne. However, Yarmouth with 11 per cent is slightly below the provincial average (12 per cent). This is the county where the ratio of dependence is the lowest: adults (20-59 years old) make up 47 per cent of the population, compared with 42 per cent in Digby and 42 per cent in Shelburne (the average for the province is 45 per cent). The differences are less if the group of 15-64 is considered as the adult group; in that case, the average for each of the counties rises to about 55 per cent, and that of Nova Scotia to 57 per cent. But there are, proportionately, more people aged 65 and over than in the province as a whole (9 per cent); Digby has 11 per cent, Yarmouth 11 per cent and Shelburne 11 per cent.

A study of the pyramid of ages in the three counties is revealing. The relatively small number of people in the 20-39 age group indicates high emigration. Also, the group 10-14 is even larger than the 0-4 and 5-9 age groups. The shapes of the three pyramids are similar, and the high proportion of old people (60 and over) is clearly shown.

In 1961, the ratio of men in Digby (104) and Shelburne (106) was higher than the provincial average (103). The ratio in Digby has become larger than that for the province since 1951. In that year the respective figures were 101 per cent and 102 per cent; Shelburne had the highest percentage with

AGE - SEX PYRAMID

YARMOUTH, DIGBY, AND SHELBURNE COUNTIES - 1961



105 per cent. Yarmouth is in a different situation; in 1951, the ratio of men was 95 per cent and it did not rise to 99 per cent until 1961. The town of Yarmouth must be considered the cause of this. In 1961, the census showed 4,104 men to 4,532 women, a majority of 428 women. Elsewhere in the county, there are more men than women.

The majority of the population of the south-west region were born in the Atlantic Provinces and mainly in Nova Scotia; this is true for 19 out of 20 inhabitants of Digby, 14 out of 15 in Shelburne and 22 out of 23 in Yarmouth. The typical division into French and British shows some slight differences at the county level. Take the Acadians who make up about 40 per cent of the over-all population. In Digby they are in the majority - 9,696 Acadians to 8,064 British. In Yarmouth the two groups are roughly equal - 11,499 and 10,091 respectively. In Shelburne, however, there are only 405 Acadians compared to 12,603 British. In that county there are more Dutch (594) and Germans (829) than French. There are also 872 negroes in Digby and a total of 407 negroes in the two other counties.

The Acadians have, to a large extent, become assimilated: scarcely 2,639 people gave French as their only official language, while 42,122 people in the region gave English as their only official language; 14,022 gave both French and English; 4,939 people of French origin have mixed with the British. In Shelburne the facts about the ethnic groups show that there are 405 inhabitants of French origin; no more than 84 give French as their mother tongue. As for religion, Catholics are in the majority except in Shelburne: 50 per cent in Digby, 52 per cent in Yarmouth, 5 per cent in Shelburne. The Baptists are the second largest group (44 per cent in Shelburne) followed by the United Church and the Anglican Church which have similarly sized congregations.

The division of labour by industries shows similarities between Digby and Yarmouth and a different behaviour in Shelburne. Thus only 22 per cent of manpower in Digby (1,258 people out of 5,717) is employed at the primary level and 18 per cent in Yarmouth (1,221 out of 6,772); in the latter county, urban influence acts on the structure of employment. In Shelburne, on the other hand, 30 per cent of manpower (1,351 out of 4,541) works at the primary level. In all three counties, fishing is the main primary-level activity; it even employs 1,268 out of the 1,351 primary workers in Shelburne. Only in Digby is employment in the forests of any importance (411) and both in this county and in Yarmouth not many people are engaged in agriculture (338 and 342 respectively). In Shelburne this figure drops to zero; there, fishing is the only activity that really counts at this level.

At the secondary level (manufacturing and building) all three counties show more or less the same percentage (about 20 per cent). This figure represents 3,693 people engaged in the manufacturing industry; 592 of these are women. The third level literally crushes the first two sectors. Yarmouth, as a commercial and service centre, has 55 per cent of its population working at this level. Shelburne is at the other end of the scale with 44 per cent, but this is still a high figure.

The division of labour by professions reveals a not unexpected phenomenon. Many people are employed in trades: farmers, lumberjacks, fishermen, workers, labourers. The percentage of tradesmen in the work forces of the main towns are: Yarmouth (46 per cent), Digby (54 per cent) and Shelburne (57 per cent). The technological level of the activity varies; modern fishing has been introduced; some clever technicians are employed in shipbuilding, and some diversification of industry exists in the towns of Digby and Yarmouth.

There are 12,630 wage-earners in the region; 29 per cent of these (3,640) had to content themselves with earnings of less than $1,000 in the course of the 12 months up to June 1, 1961. This proportion reaches nearly 30 per cent in Digby and Shelburne but drops to 26 per cent in Yarmouth. The limit of $3,000 encompasses 9,868 people, or 78 per cent of the total wage-earning population; four-fifths of the wage-earning populations of Digby and Shelburne fall within this group, and 76 per cent of those in Yarmouth. The rest earn between $4,000 and $6,000; only 1 per cent earns more than this.

Manufacturing and the long fishing season produce a relatively long period of employment; 58 per cent of the wage earners in Digby work from 40 to 52 weeks, 65 per cent in Shelburne and 70 per cent in Yarmouth. About 24, 20 and 19 per cent of the manpower in these same counties work less than 27 weeks. Apart from seasonal unemployment, only a small percentage of skilled labour is unemployed; the percentage is 3 or, in other words, 546 people out of a total of 17,030.

CLARE TOWNSHIP

The Acadian Township of Clare consists of one street. The villages of St-Bernard, Belliveau Cove, Grosses-Coques, Pointe-à-l'Église, Petit-Ruisseau, Comeauville, Saulnierville, Meteghan, Mavillette, and Rivière-au-Saumon are all parts of the same network. An impression of unity without monotony comes from them. They can be approached only as a whole.

Houses and occupations are concentrated on the coast. The small inland settlement is an accident: Hectanooga, Lac Doucette, Concession, etc., are relatively poor and lifeless areas. Forestry was the main reason for settling there. The active population is probably now depleted by the processing industry on the coast.

Work in this region centres round fishing for scallops, lobsters, ground and deep-sea fish. Fishing is the primary activity. The lumber industry is based on it, from the building of trawlers to making packing cases for fish. The human milieu is stable and well-integrated. Commerce is active and the houses, though small, are not decrepit. Since the war, the area has taken on a new lease of life. A subsistence economy has no place here; the economy is wholly that of the market. Since 1958-59, the number of jobs has increased by 500 in Clare. "Fifteen years ago there wasn't a car at each door. Ten years ago the houses weren't painted. Those who are poor are those who do not want to work."

The Organization of the Acadians

Interview - "A" now works for the Extension Service of Antigonish. He used to be an accountant at a local factory. He is concerned with adult education and especially with that of the fishermen, since fishing is the main economic activity here: academic courses, co-operation and credit unions (Table 9). He has organized study circles; the subjects being: the little Catechism, the organization of a fire service, the forms of assistance for needy families, and dances for the young people. Courses in French and English are given in the parish of St-Bernard. A sewing and copper-working circle has been organized in the parish of Ste-Marie (Pointe-à-l'Église). The Saulnierville group which used to function has now been disbanded.

"A" is especially concerned with the organization of credit unions. Until recently there was a great deal of incompetence in the administration of the funds. Several of them were and still are in difficulties. There is a certain amount of jealousy between the parishes. The Federation of Credit Unions has not given the services which the people of Clare expected. This is why the parish of St-Bernard withdrew from the Federation.

TABLE 9 - DIGBY-YARMOUTH: CREDIT UNION FUNDS*

Date founded	Place	$
DIGBY		
1940	St-Bernard	330,760
1945	Meteghan	60,484
1945	Saulnierville	73,054
1954	Ste-Marie	52,199
1954	Weymouth	11,958
YARMOUTH		
1939	Wedgeport	83,786
1940	L'Aurore;East-Pubnico	74,336
1940	West-Pubnico	439,070
1950	Ste-Anne	61,333
1959	GAP; Glenwood, Argyle, Pubnico	18,900

*As of March 31, 1965.

The Acadians are also organized socially. The Lions Club was "imported" by an Acadian who had been the manager of a bank at Bathurst, N.B.; a handful of English inhabitants belong to this club. The Kiwanis Club of Weymouth is made up of about "50 per cent Acadians"; the English are the leaders. At Meteghan, six members of the Lions Club executive resigned because the bishop expressed reservations about a club which could give rise to problems of faith in a French milieu. There is an Acadian club at Yarmouth. These people are not interested in becoming affiliated with Richelieu because part of the subscriptions are sent outside the county. It will be noted, finally, in this medley of clubs that the Clare Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1949.

Scallop Fishing

The recent major event in the fishing industry was the organization of a modern fleet to gather scallops. The person mainly responsible for this lives in Saulnierville (Table 10). It is true that the inhabitants of Digby have been gathering scallops for 40 years, but on a smaller scale. The organizer had followed the progress and the profits of the American fishermen from New Bedford with great attention. He started his enterprise here in 1957, and formed a company to ensure the buying and working of a boat (Miss Clare - 65 feet, 275 H.P., 11 men). Four men, including the captain and a seaman, have an interest in the company.

They have begun to work the same banks as the fishermen of New Bedford - that is George Bank, situated 110 miles to the south-west of Yarmouth, a similar distance to that which the New Bedford fishermen must cover. The first season was disastrous owing to general inexperience and mechanical difficulties. In the second year they went to Pubnico to find a captain. Things are better now and they have been fishing for six years with this boat. Other groups soon joined in.

TABLE 10 - GROWTH OF THE FLEET - SAULNIERVILLE (1959-1966)

1959 - 1960 - 1961	a new 65-foot boat each year
1962	2 97-foot boats (500 H.P., 20 men)
1963	2 97-foot boats
1964	2 102-foot boats (765 H.P., 20 men)
1965	1 102-foot boat
1966	1 boat under construction

The boats are built in a Meteghan shipyard. There are plans for more boats to be bought soon. The 65-footers are no longer used for scallops; they are kept now for catching ground-fish, swordfish and whales. These three boats have a total of 15 crewmen. The large boats have an average crew of 18 men each - 126 in all. The boats in the beginning used 10-foot drag nets on each side of the boat; the drag nets are now 13 feet long.

When fishing began from Saulnierville, the boat used was the fifth equipped for scallop collecting in the whole of Nova Scotia (Halifax and Lunenburg). The upsurge in construction dates from 1952, and there are now about 50 boats. The principal unloading ports are Lunenburg, Shelburne, Yarmouth and Saulnierville.

The Americans have recently discovered scallop beds off the coast of Virginia, 600 miles from here and 55 miles offshore from the Virginia coast. There, six days of fishing produce a catch one third larger than that from 10 days of fishing on George Bank. The bottom is better and the tackle becomes less worn. Eleven days are spent at sea. The best months for fishing are from May to September. The scallops take five years to grow to adult size, at which point they have a five-inch shell. The steel mesh of the drag net is three inches in diameter, which allows small scallops to fall back into the sea. While the catches are smaller in winter, the price rises and this ensures a stable average income.

The work is quite hard. On the Virginia banks, fishermen work 12 or even 16 hours out of 24. The drag nets are pulled in at 40-minute intervals and the scallops are immediately opened, emptied and cleaned. There are three teams working in shifts. The value of the trip varies between $10,000 and $18,000. About 20 trips are made each year. A crewman's share easily reaches $400 to $500 a trip, and $9,000 would not be an exceptional yearly income. In 1959, fishermen received 22 cents a pound; in 1965, this figure was 55 cents. Mention was also made of average annual earnings (net) of $4,500 to $6,000 for fishermen. The income of the captain reaches $12,000 to $16,000. The second mate is a young sailor who was sent on a six-weeks navigation course at Pictou. The crews are made up of Acadians of the region who come from the coast between Belliveau Cove and Pubnico. Three-quarters of them are under 40 and the rest between 40 and 50.

This new type of fisherman behaves differently from the "old ones". "You buy yourself the things necessary for your comfort." They have bungalow-type houses built. Some fishermen like to drink, but most of them are thrifty. It seems that they are an object of admiration and envy for a fair number of Acadians.

At the beginning of the operations in 1957, the scallops were taken to Yarmouth to be frozen. However, there was no delay in setting up plate freezers and ice-making machines. In 1958, 40 people were employed for five months at Saulnierville. In 1965, 120 people were employed for 6 months. About an equal number of men and women work there; the women make 60 cents an hour for a working week of 48 hours; the men may make between $1 and $1.50 an hour, but most earn only $1.

The American market takes 95 per cent of the fish sold. There are seven buyers and competition is weak. Prices are good, and the fleet and the industry will continue to be developed. The catches are still unloaded at Meteghan, but the government is now building a quay at Saulnierville (at a cost of a million dollars); this quay will be finished in a year's time. Finally, the government is also granting a subsidy of 40 per cent on construction of wooden boats, all of which are built at Meteghan.

NOTE: According to the inhabitants of the region, the "English" of Lunenburg and Digby Neck find the development of the Acadians too rapid. The people of Lunenburg want to stay in first place. The organizer of the Saulnierville scallop fleet was recently appointed to the Fishing Loans Board of Nova Scotia. He is the first and obviously the only Acadian on this seven-member commission. That also will be criticized.

Lumber Industry

Two sectors of production use the regional forest area - shipbuilding and the manufacture of boxes and building materials. Let us look at the second sector. In Meteghan a firm for their manufacture was established in 1906. The founder is dead and his four sons now manage the firm, which makes wooden boxes for transporting eggs, carbonated drinks, fish, apples, etc. The competition from producers of cardboard boxes is now strong and so the volume of sales of egg boxes has decreased from 110,000 to 10,000 and that of fish boxes from 200,000 to 35,000. Twenty-eight truck loads of fish boxes were once sent to Newfoundland in one year.

Taxation is also a hindrance. A 4 per cent sales tax was imposed at the beginning of 1963. The tax rose to 8 per cent during that year, and then to 11 per cent in January 1964. A mitigating regulation led to the tax being levied at 64 per cent of the value of the sale instead of on the total value (Spring 1964) but the tax on the total value was soon restored. The firm had to pay the difference on some sales and even a fine.

On the other hand, 140 sawmills out of a total in the Maritimes of 700 continue to pay tax on the 64 per cent. These sawmills, which make up 20 per cent of the total number, account for 90 per cent of total sales.

There is also a supply problem. The firm owns 15,000 acres of forest in the inland region and four "jobbers" each employing three men, have a contract for cutting wood. (The men concerned are part-time farmers.) Only the large trees are cut - mainly red spruce and white spruce. Cutting is done in each area at intervals of 15 to 20 years.

Not enough wood can be cut. Three years ago, a request was made for concessions in Crown forests but the request was refused in 1965. There is no forest land available. Small companies are at a disadvantage.

The factory at Meteghan works for 11 months a year; it stops for a month in spring for repairs and maintenance. The number of people working there remains steady at 70 men. The staff do not need to be very skilled. The young men learn the job and then go to Ontario. Married men are more suitable. The men know that competition prevents the local industry from paying better wages and they accept this.

Young men receive 85 cents an hour and married men an average of one dollar and up to $1.35 (before the Minimum Wage Act, the pay was 65 cents). The working week is 46¾ hours (8½ hours for 5½ days). The employees prefer to draw 2 per cent of their annual earnings (approximate value of 2 weeks work) rather than take holidays. They benefit from a group insurance-medical plan (including $3,000 life insurance) which provides $28 a week for 13 weeks. They are rarely ill.

There are some other timber industries in Clare: a Pointe-à-l'Église sawmill employs 7 to 8 men throughout the year and saws half a million feet of wood every year; a Meteghan Centre firm, employs 10 men, and works throughout the year producing doors, frames and building materials; another firm

(2 to 3 men) has been making wooden pipes (calvettes) for two years; there are one or two other industries which are not flourishing.

All that remains to be mentioned in this connection is the Belliveau Supply Co-op (St-Bernard). This is a production co-operative which was set up about 1950 to do sawing and produce boxes and building materials. It has 80 or 90 shareholders and 30 employees. Profits were high during the first years it was in operation. Returns of 17 per cent on the subscribed capital were unwisely distributed to the detriment of the reserves. The administration was then open to question. One year, there was a loss of $5,000 on one item (pine was used for fish boxes and flavoured the fish). The co-operative is now on a sound footing.

Shipbuilding

The Acadians have a great reputation as carpenters, shipwrights and boatbuilders. It must be stressed, however, that they have had every opportunity here to exercise their talent, first of all by building fishing boats and, later, larger boats.

The traditional boat built here is the one designed for small-scale fishing, but for some years now, due to the low prices which the workmen of the region charge for their work, people from outside the region (mainly Americans) have been ordering yachts. There are about a dozen yards: Belliveau Cove (2), Mavillette (2), Cap Ste-Marie (2), Beaver River (1), Rivière-au-Saumon (1), Port Maitland (1), Wedgeport (2 to 3), Pubnico (1).

Interview - "DB" is a yard at Cap Ste-Marie where four brothers work together. It has been in operation for 17 years and, incidentally, their first client was back to order a second boat at the time of the interview. As elsewhere, the yard builds the Cape Island Boat (so called because the first of the line was built at Cape Island). Four series of models are used. The approximate cost of the hull is $1,900. What is put inside is expensive (motor, controls, fishing gear, etc.). They have finished building an American yacht.

Interview - "C" is a boatbuilder at Mavillette. His father started the business in 1943. "C" took it up with his brother in 1958, and he eventually bought his brother out. Five men work there all the year round. Nine to ten "coquilles" (hulls) 38 feet by 12 feet are built there in the course of a year. The hull is worth about $2,500 and the boat about $4,500 when the equipment is installed (including a 170 to 225 H.P. motor). Bigger (55 foot) boats are also built here and these cost $15,000. A year's production of boats requires 20,000 board feet of wood hemlock, wild cherry, "violon" (red spruce) - plus a certain amount of plywood. A boat should last for 20 years. Boats are sold to neighbouring fishermen and also to Americans; boats from here are cheaper and better shaped. The order book is filled for a year. The older fishermen pay for the boats out of their own pockets, but the younger ones borrow money to do so.

The Acadians' ability to build wooden boats was used during the last war. At Weymouth, more than 200 men built patrol launches. At Meteghan, 500 to 600 men built minesweepers. The Meteghan yards, which worked on a "cost-plus" basis, belonged to business interests in Montreal, the original Acadian owners having been outpaced by events. It is said that these yards produced "a bunch of idlers".

A few years ago, a group of Acadians conceived the idea of buying back the business on a co-operative basis. Thirty co-operators were to pledge $5,000 each to ensure a capital of $150,000 to buy ($70,000) and repair ($30,000) the yards and provide a starting capital of $50,000. The prospective co-operators hesitated and withdrew, and two Acadians were able to start a different project with less capital. It has been operating since the autumn of 1964 and employs about 10 men. The buildings are rented from the government and a 45,000-square-foot shed is now being used. The companies are not very dynamic despite the fact that, at the present time, boatbuilding and repair firms in the region are thriving.

Things are different at another local yard. The owner, who used to live in Boston, started building small boats here in 1936. At first, the yard built 25-foot fishing boats. In 1940, they successfully undertook a 100-foot boat. Then came the war years (the building of "harbour craft" for Halifax and elsewhere has already been mentioned). Recently the yard has been building 65-foot fishing boats, and employs 50 men.

Since 1960, 97- and 102-foot boats have been built for trawling and scallop fishing. It takes 5 months to build the boat itself and another 6 weeks to equip it. Several hulls are on the stocks at the same time; there are 7 boats being built at present: 3, 65-footers and 4, 102-footers. There are also three or four under repair. In 1964, 8, 102-foot boats were built and delivered in Nova Scotia. It is, therefore, an important business.

The labour force now comprises 120 men. The working week is 44 hours and the work goes on throughout the year, with just one week of holidays with pay. Carpenters earn $1.20 an hour and the other workers earn between $1 and $1.20 an hour. The employees have no sick-pay insurance plan. There is no turnover of labour. The ages of the workers vary from 18 to 60. The owner trains his workers himself; about 40 of the present labour force - mainly young people - have already been trained here.

Agriculture

Interview - A county agronomist. He and his wife were both born in Chéticamp. He worked in Inverness for 18 years and has been here for the last 10 years. He studied at the School of Agriculture at Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, Que.

He says that the true farmers are quickly counted. There are hardly 26 of them in the English Township of Digby: North Range and South Range (5), Bear River (10), Hill Grove (6) and Digby Neck (5). Agriculture is unusually diverse among these 26 farmers: one has 5,000 laying hens, another makes his living exclusively from potatoes, a third raises animals for meat; strawberries and vegetables are grown.

There are even fewer real farmers in the French part of the county. The municipality of Clare has 18. The most important activities here are dairying and pig-keeping. Thus, the three farmers of Concession are mainly engaged in raising year-old pigs. Two own 100 sows and put 1,600 year-old pigs on the market each year. The third owns 15 sows and markets 200 pigs a year. Marketing is done jointly.

There are a few large dairy herds. At Meteghan, three farmers each own about 20 dairy cows; at Saulnierville there is a herd of 25 dairy cows, and there is a herd of similar size at Gilbert Cove. Six farmers make their living from market gardens: four of these are at Lac Doucette and two at Meteghan. The vegetables they grow are carrots, turnips, cabbages and radishes.

An interesting phenomenon is that most of the mink farmers in Nova Scotia live in Digby County; 20 out of a total of 25 are grouped in the Township of Clare; 23 men are employed there for 9 months and 20 others for the whole year. The sale of one adult male and two adult females brings $2,000. Mink are sold to the United States, but the customs duties are becoming heavier. All the same, mink farming is going to increase. The farmers are expert and one of them has managed, for the first time in the world, to produce a mutation of black mink.

Census statistics show 559 farms of three acres or over in Digby. As already explained, there are, however, no more than 44 true farmers. To this number may be added 80 people who divide their time between fishing and agriculture.

The influence of the sea lengthens the frost-free period. This is an ideal climate for forage. It is easy to grow vegetables and small fruits. In addition to this, the experimental farm at Kentville has set up a station at Accaciaville. This is the third experimental year for fruit trees (peach and pear), grapes and small fruits (blueberry, raspberry, strawberry). The results are satisfactory. There is a ready market for everything produced.

Agriculture should be made co-operative. Community pastures would allow many people to double their livestock. But people here are not co-operative-minded; they are satisfied with what they make. "The influence of Antigonish has not been felt here." The old Acadian fishermen still divide their land. For example, if one of them owns 50 acres and has 10 children, he will give each five acres and each will build himself a house on these acres. "It is only in cases of extreme necessity that a man will leave the land he has inherited from his father. The Acadian is proud to possess land but he is not always disposed to make it bear fruit." On the contrary, true farmers rent land; they often obtain the land for the cost of the taxes. Taxes are up to $300 or $400 for a real farm. The assessment of the property affects its market value. The tax on cultivated land is $10 an acre and on woodland it varies between $4 and $10.

NOTE: ARDA gave rise to several enterprises. The Digby Rural Development Association was started in 1963. The central committee has 20 members. The sub-committees deal with agriculture, fishing and tourism; the association would also like to form sub-committees for forestry and education. The present committees work fairly well. Several observers commented: "They have no good plans. They want to have everything without spending any money."

> The plan for community pasture at Rossway, in which nine farmers were concerned (280 acres - $5,500) was settled last week (August 1965). "We'd worked on it for 3 years and we didn't want to start anything else before settling that." It is also said that two residents of Florida, small fruit specialists, want to buy land here. A project is under way. Finally, there are peatbogs in the inland region and a New England company is interested in exploiting the peat if the region will pay part of the cost.

YARMOUTH

Yarmouth is a vigorous, lively town combined with a large number of small coastal villages; on the whole, the north-west coast belongs to the Loyalists and the south-east to the Acadians. Apart from a little dairying, two textile industries and tourism, their income depends on fishing and fish processing. The Acadians make up part of the labour force of the town (one-seventh of the population) and, in the east, their villages border on those of the British; the former have sometimes taken over more land and the latter have shrunk.

From Pubnico, for example, have sprung 10 or so small centres on both sides of Pubnico Harbour. These centres have not disassociated their names from that of the mother parish: Upper West Pubnico, West P., Middle West P., Lower West P., East P., Middle East P., Centre East P., Lower East P., Pubnico Beach. The British, on the other hand, have withdrawn from Pinkney Point and Lower Melbourne and have been replaced by Acadians. There are Acadians at Surette, Amirault, Ste-Anne-du-Ruisseau and Wedgeport; the British have retreated to the Argyles in the east and onto the Chebogue peninsula to the west. But, whatever their ethnic origin and wherever they have settled, the people living in the eastern part of the County of Yarmouth are united by the sea and small-scale fishing. It is from this angle that we have approached our subject.

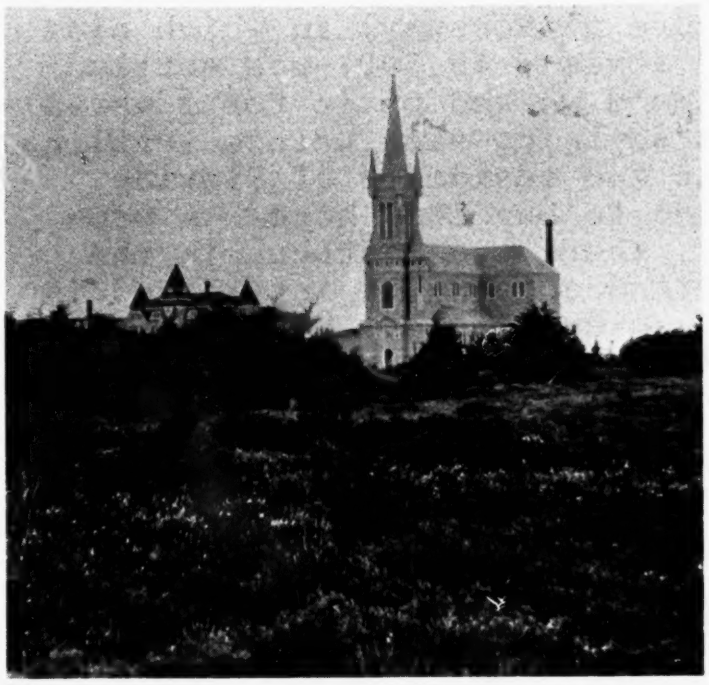


Figure 29. Point-à-l'Église, centre and spring-board of Acadian settlement in Clare Township; imposing wooden church and the roofs of the Collège Ste-Anne are outlined against the summer mist.

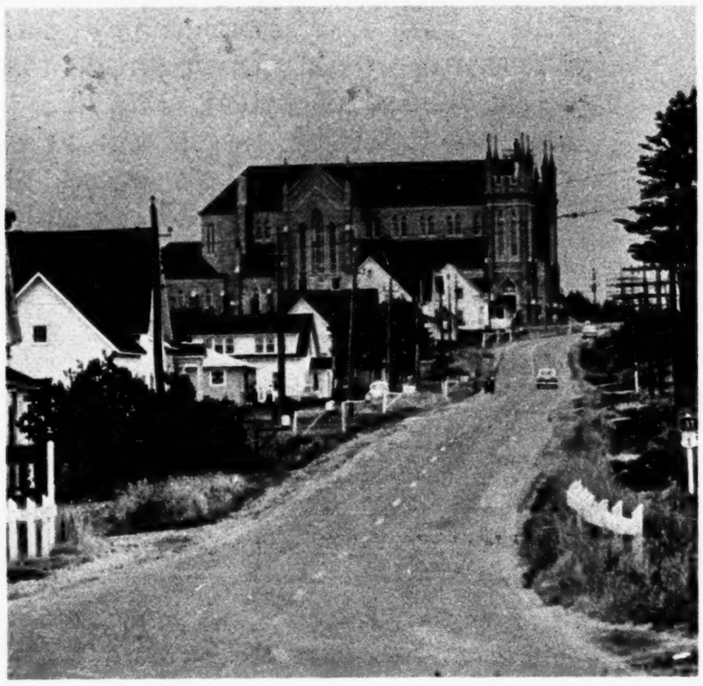


Figure 30. Huge grey stone church towers over the wooden houses in St-Bernard; communities sometimes make great financial sacrifices to build their churches.

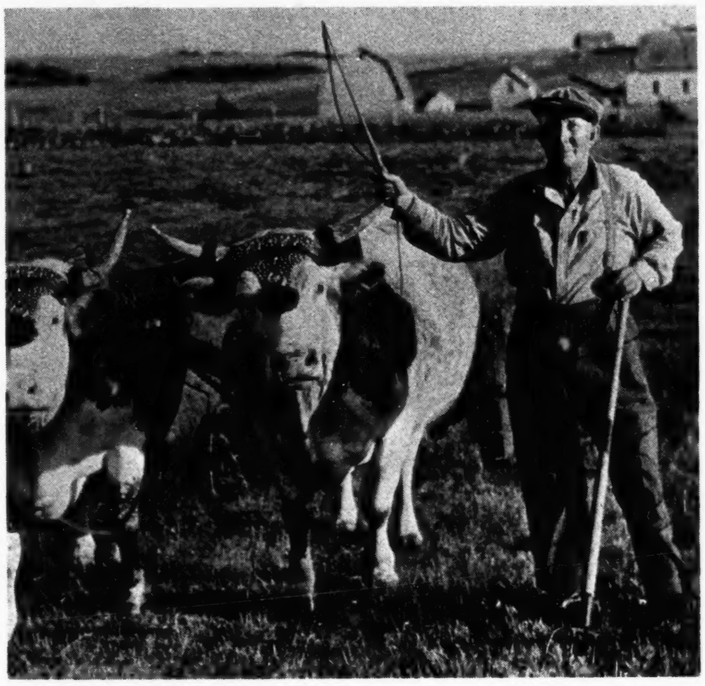


Figure 31. A not unusual sight: a team of well-groomed and even decorated oxen drawing farm implements in the Acadian coastal communities; the old way of living has a definite value here.

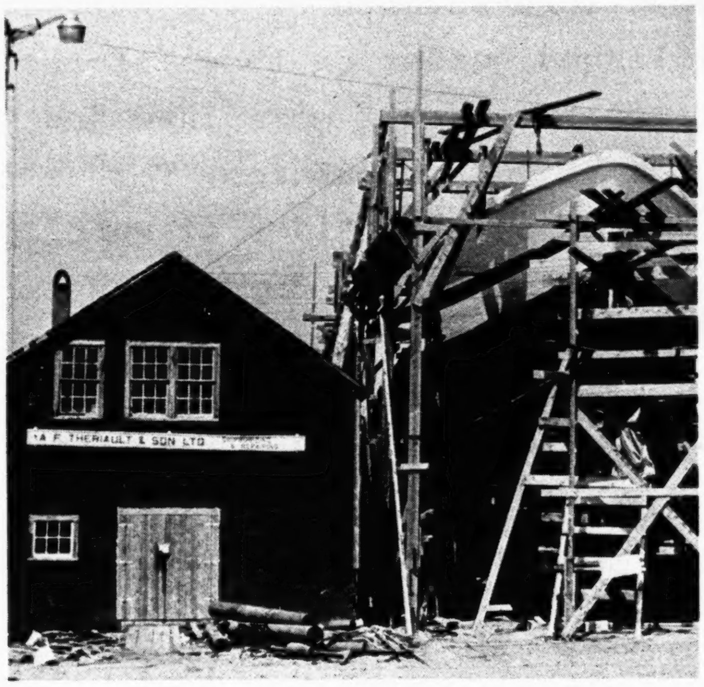


Figure 32. Boatyards at Meteghan are busy building seven, 65 or 102 feet long, fishing boats at the same time.

NOTE: Because of their importance in the economic life of the county, and because they draw people from the country, the two industries in question in Yarmouth merit some comment. One employs 284 men and 140 women. The factory dates back to the last century when sail canvas was made. It now makes high-quality "industrial cotton duck". It also makes drying rolls for paper-making. (A branch which is now closed used to operate at Hamilton, Ontario.)

Acadians account for 65 per cent of the labour force and this includes several young girls from the country; 75 per cent of the employees are married. The young people who come into the industry stay until pension age. The average wage is $45 to $50 for a 40-hour week. The women earn almost as much as the men, this unusual factor being perhaps explained by the presence of a union - The United Textile Workers. Finally, a word about the second industry. This local firm (set up in 1952) is on a sound footing and its production is directed towards the Canadian market. It makes sweaters and employs 10 men and 70 women; the women are mostly Acadians. They have the same union.

Exploitation of the Sea

The exploitation of the resources of the sea is not a figure of speech to the inhabitants of this region, where the resources of the sea are varied, ranging from whale to herring. One might almost claim that the inhabitants of this region are in symbiosis with the Atlantic: they spear swordfish, gather the carrageen in shallow waters and extract "bloodworms" from the beach.

Whales have always been observed in the coastal waters and they even enter St. Mary's Bay. They are hunted from there to the open sea at Pubnico, the hunters using 65-foot boats (five men) armed with 50mm guns. Two types are caught: the "Milky Whale" (15-20 feet long) and the "Fin Whale" (50-55 feet long); they weigh about a ton a foot. The meat from the back is sent to the United States for human consumption (6-7 cents a pound). The meat from the rest of the whale is used to feed domestic animals, mink, etc. The meat is rich in protein. The blubber, sent to Halifax, is twice as profitable as that of the meat.

Swordfishing is done at the edge of the continental shelf and, it seems, mainly during the fine season. Five years ago, 16 Yarmouth boats were equipped for hunting swordfish; there are now five left, each with a crew of 5 to 10 men. Fishing is more sporadic than systematic. In the region there are also swordfishers at Clark's Harbour and Lockeport (Shelburne). Adult fish over 100 lbs. are always harpooned. For example, two reports of long-liner catches at Yarmouth listed: (i) 94 swordfish (12,367 lb.) during a period of two to three weeks; (ii) 102 swordfish (15,319 lb.) in a similar period.

Fishing for tuna is a sport for which the region is famous. The International Tuna Tournament took place at Wedgeport up to 1960. It was halted after that because the fish were too scarce, but was resumed this summer and it seems that all is going well: 12 to 15 tuna have been landed up to now (August 13, 1965) at Wedgeport and five at Cap Ste-Marie (the weight of these specimens varies between 500 and 800 pounds). The season lasts from mid-July to September 15. Teams come from Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, the United States and the British Isles. The cost of hiring a boat with all services included is $65 a day. This is reasonable; some years ago the price did not go above $35. There are 12 boats at Wedgeport (20 in 1960) and five at Cap Ste-Marie. The boats concerned are Cape Island boats fitted with a cabin and a pivoting seat; they are gaily painted and highly polished. Cod-fishing trips are also organized; the cost is $25 for the boat and $5 per person.

As regards commercial fishing, herring, the proletariat of the sea, makes up a large part of the catch. Modernization is causing problems for the traditional fishermen. In the Trinity Ledge area, for instance (Cap Ste-Marie - Maitland) five boats (50-foot) listed at Meteghan use dragnets. They move about all night at full speed. The fishermen ih Cape Island boats (gill-net technique) are disturbed all night by the movements of the big boats. In the morning the big boats come alongside and compensate them with a large "ration" of herrings.

The lobster season for the whole region lasts from December 1 to May 31, that is, six months. During the summer and autumn, fishermen go as far as 100 to 150 miles out to sea to catch herring, halibut and cod. In November they make ready for lobster fishing. Here, as elsewhere in the Maritimes, lobster fishing is profitable. Particular mention should be made of the Cape Sable Island fishermen who make large incomes. Early in spring, they settle on the islands. The Wedgeport fishermen do the same, but those from Pubnico return home at the end of the day.

The sea, however, yields more than fish and shellfish; there are fine harvests of carrageen and seaweed. During the summer, and especially at periods of high tide, all the schoolchildren from Digby to Shelburne help with the harvest. These harvests have been relatively intense for the last 15 years. It is, however, traditional and, in Yarmouth, it is told as an anecdote that gelatine used to be made from them. In the Acadian sector in the south, they gather carrageen in shallow water, using small boats and long rakes. Since 1964, the harvest season has been fixed from June 1 to October 30.

Finally, there is the collecting of "bloodworms". In 1952 the postmaster of Wedgeport employed 100 people during the summer. These workers made from $10 to $15 at each low tide. It is now more profitable to gather carrageen; the average earned in a four-hour period is $10, and this sometimes goes as high as $30.

The exploitation of the resources of the sea has, in the course of time, led to the setting up of some processing industries. For example, the rise over the past 15 years of the gathering of carrageen is linked to the demand from industries which were set up in 1950, 1952 and 1953.

In connection with the processing of fish, a factory was set up in 1950 at Yarmouth. This Dutch-financed firm annually processes 5 million pounds of groundfish, 3.6 million pounds of herring and 750,000 pounds of carrageen. The factory is supplied by three trawlers, one of which is 125 feet long, made of steel, and built in Holland. The employment is seasonal and engages 15 to 65 men and 5 to 110 women.

There is also a small fish-processing company (1925) supplied by a 102-foot boat which is run by 16 Pubnico men; this factory employs 40 men and 10 women. At Shelburne itself, a fishery business dating back to the beginning of the century, processes fish all the year round. It is an up-to-date business. The hourly wage varies from 80 cents to $1 (44-hour week).

Agriculture and Forestry

Interview - A county agronomist for the Yarmouth-Shelburne sector, studied at the School of Agriculture of Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, Que. He has 14 children.

In Shelburne, he says, income comes from fishing (65 per cent) and the forest (35 per cent). There are no full-time farmers. In all, there are 10 milk cows. As for the forest, most of those who exploit it own areas of it. The wood is sold in billets on the local market. Owners of woodlots also often own shares in the local sawmill. Most of the wood comes from private land. (A private corporation does some felling on certain holdings.) The woods used are spruce and, particularly, white pine; these are used for ship's planking. There is no wood for pulp here, although there is some in Yarmouth.

The most important industry in Shelburne is a woodworking firm which has been operating since the beginning of the century. It operates all year round, turning out timber and building materials. It has a labour force of 60 people, who earn 95 cents an hour. In the same area, another firm builds 100-foot wooden trawlers. This firm also works all year round and employs about 10 men in each yard.

Agriculture is centred on Yarmouth. There are 150 commercial farmers (capitalization - $25,000; value of production - $2,500). Most of them are situated within a radius of 15 miles around Yarmouth; mainly dairy farmers, they also do a little market gardening. The average farm has 50 to 60 acres under cultivation. The yield is high: two tons of hay per acre; 25 per cent goes for silage. The farms are small and mechanized. The farmers own enough machinery to cultivate double the acreage and, since land is scarce, it would be logical to decrease the amount of machinery; but the farmers here are individualistic and there is no question of sharing the use of implements.

Each farm has between 10 and 40 head of livestock; the average is 15. Up to now, there has been a preference for Guernseys, but Holsteins are becoming more popular. The milk is sold to two dairies in Yarmouth. Few vegetables are grown (perhaps because the farmers are badly organized for markets). Nor are many potatoes grown; people prefer to "import" them. The real farmers are all "English"; there are no Acadians. However, Acadians make up about a quarter of the remaining 280 part-time farmers. "They settled by the sea from tradition. They are skilful with their hands and good at carpentry."

ARDA has entered the picture. The provincial Minister of Agriculture has initiated the setting up of a committee. In 1963 a socio-economic enquiry was begun covering forestry, fishing, agriculture and tourism. Acadia University has compiled a questionnaire and will tabulate the answers. This questionnaire was distributed to 150 commercial farms with the aid of a $6,000 grant.

A certain number of projects are being considered: diverting the course of the Hillview River so as to gain more land and prevent spring floods, draining Yarmouth lowlands, increasing blueberry production. Blueberries used to be shipped by boat on the year-round Yarmouth-Boston line, and also on the Yarmouth-New York summer run. These services were discontinued in 1944 or 1945.

Interview - "The means of earning a living, generally speaking, are available throughout the region, especially during the past twenty-five years. Everybody was poor during the depression." Comment on Baccaro, Little River Harbour, Quinan, Surette: "People live primitively by choice, following tradition, particularly from the point of view of housing ... poorly lodged ... no pride in the house itself ... not too much education, not lazy."

Integration at Pinkney Point, Melbourne and Butte-à-Comeau

Interview - Father "F" is in charge of three villages: Butte-à-Comeau, Pinkney Point, and Melbourne, each with 60 families, totalling 760 to 800 people. While there may be no doubt as to the origin of Butte-à-Comeau, it is necessary to note that Pinkney Point and Melbourne were founded by British settlers. However, only two families of British origin remain in the first village, and eight in the second. These families still speak the English language and remain Protestant. People by the name of Fitzgerald and Harris are to be found among the Acadians, however.

School organization problems are among the most prominent. Father "F" has formulated an integration plan for the three villages. Butte-à-Comeau presently belongs to the Wedgeport district (municipality of Argyle), where a bilingual Catholic school exists. Pinkney Point and Melbourne belong to the regional school in the English district (municipality of Yarmouth).

In order to have a more uniform district and the benefit of a bilingual school, the parish priest proposed changing the municipal boundaries. (In the beginning, the 1860 division was sensible, the population in that area being entirely British.) The proposed change would have made Melbourne and Pinkney Point a part of Argyle. The parish priest would then have moved his rectory to the most centrally-located church, namely Melbourne. At present, the rectory is in Butte-ã-Comeau. Parishioners have not been in favour of the proposal so far, because, they say, there would be a tax increase. Consequently, the public hearing project was dropped.

NOTE: An examination of the situation reveals several points. It seems that the people are afraid of displeasing the Scots. This would appear to conflict with the wish for a bilingual school in the Yarmouth municipality. However, all the Acadians in that area have signed a petition in favour of such a school. (In Wedgeport and Pubnico, however, some parents are opposed to bilingualism for their children, that is, they would rather everything be dealt with in English.) Furthermore, the fear of an increased tax load is groundless, since the tax rate is at present lower in Argyle than in Yarmouth. Besides, the building costs for a bilingual school would be shared by the whole municipality. The provincial government, as we know from the case of Inverness, provides specific aid to municipalities in difficult financial situations.

Father "F" also thought of bringing the three villages together by setting up a co-operative fishing association, a co-operative store and a credit union. (Each village, on its own, is too small to ensure the proper functioning of such organizations.) The reason behind this second failure, according to Father "F", is that these localities lack a community spirit. He mentions that several ventures at Pubnico and Wedgeport are working well: fire brigade, Knights of Columbus, co-operative store.

It would seem that Ste-Anne-du-Ruisseau (Eel Brook), a parish made up of four or five villages, is facing problems similar to those here. The problems there are less serious, however, because they have a consolidated school and an elementary school both large enough to take the children of 225 families.

The villages are Lower Hill Brook, Belleville, Hubbards Point and Tusket.

Interviews - Interviews with a few country people showed that no one is poor in this region, but money is ill-spent. Whoever is willing has a job. Here, we have habitual drunkenness, less education, and more attention given to the inside appearance than to the outside appearance of the houses. But there is a "greater sense of responsibility than at Pubnico and Wedgeport: bills are paid and people live according to their means". (Doctors and dentists in the other places have a hard time collecting their fees.)

MAJOR ASPECTS OF REGIONAL LIFE AND POVERTY

The southwestern part of Nova Scotia was favoured at the start by having good settlers: Acadians and Loyalists. Half of the Acadian population is established within a 100 mile radius of Grand'Pré, birthplace of a great many. They settled along St. Mary's Bay in an area favourable to human life: narrow but quite rich lowlands, workable forests, waters abounding with fish. The Government immediately granted sizeable plots of land to each settling family. Instinctively people realize that they must live near the sea; the neglected inland regions were repulsive to them. There was no need for settlements and towns, so houses stretched along the coast. The men were not tied to the land, and therefore took advantage of everything. People engaged in shipbuilding and maritime trade. Homogeneity was provided through language and religion; local politico-religious structures were laid down from the start. Essentially, the Acadians were the "organizers" of the rural milieu. They made up the core of the population of the Township of Clare. The other half was to be found mainly in the eastern part of Yarmouth County. People there resolutely turned to fishing; the setting gave them no choice.

The Puritans were the first to land in the area (1761), but it was the Loyalists who provided a substantial amount of the population (1783-85). They were people of good ancestry. The area was shared out between them. They were town builders and ambitious. They had big ideas. At the outset natural selection occurred: those who could not stand the tough pioneer life left immediately. (Only 2,000 people remained in Shelburne after a few years, out of a population of 10,000 in 1883.) Digby, Yarmouth and Shelburne were built. Farming prospered near and to the north of Yarmouth. As far as Shelburne to the east, fishing was practically the only occupation worth mentioning.

The region now has a population of approximately 58,000 people, three-quarters of whom belong to Digby and Yarmouth. The population is mainly "rural" by official definition, though this description is not being used entirely correctly if one takes into account the continuous linear habitation in Clare and elsewhere. The total population has not increased since the turn of the century, and the age pyramid has shown the importance of emigration and population aging.

Acadians make up 45 per cent of the gross population in Digby and Yarmouth, but only 2 per cent in Shelburne. In spite of their numbers they are being assimilated, and 4,939 of them (23 per cent) indicate English as their only official language.

NOTE: During a week of Acadian celebrations a young girl and a young man were chosen, following a contest, to portray the characters Evangéline and Gabriel (Longfellow's story), a symbol of Acadian endurance. At a country-style evening organized by the Clare Chamber of Commerce, the heroes were introduced in English by the Acadian Chamber of Commerce chairman, because of the presence of an English-speaking minority in the audience.

Fishing is the basis of regional economic life: lobster, scallops, herring, swordfish, whale, and tuna; nothing is overlooked. The quest for the latter three species is of secondary importance, while lobster fishing remains of primary importance. Requiring only light tackle, lobster fishing is carried out on a small scale all along the coastline. Fishing for ground and deep-sea fish is not emphasized any more than elsewhere, and it is scallop fishing which is important. The home port and the processing and shipping centre for the local fleet is Meteghan-Saulnierville.

The powerful fleet put out by the Acadians brings in the scallops from George Bank, the fishing-grounds of New Englanders. It is interesting to note again that most of the scallop fishermen are under 40 years of age, and that their income is far above that of most of the country people, with net earnings of between $4,500 and $6,000. With regard to the exploitation of the sea, the establishment about 12 years ago of three Irish moss processing factories should be noted.

Farming has never been more than a secondary occupation in the regional economy. Today farming is practised by only a handful of people: 200 farmers for the whole region, or more precisely for Yarmouth and Digby, since there are practically none in Shelburne. Farming activities in the two counties are different. In Digby the 50-odd farmers go in for mixed types of farming. These people are geographically scattered and mainly of British origin. The Acadians go in for large-scale hog-breeding, an extremely speculative undertaking. Acadians are not afraid to speculate, and 20 out of 25 mink breeders in Digby are found in Clare. However, three-quarters of the farmers are established within a 15-mile radius of Yarmouth and are in the dairy industry; there are no Acadians among them.

Lumber operations play a minor role, although local wood is used by the shipbuilding and pulp industries. Digby also exports pulpwood. A great number of vacated lots were sold to large concerns during the 1930's. Local operations are carried out by small contractors who employ a few men to do the cutting on small forest lots.

We will not take another look at the characteristics of an industry based mainly on fish and pulp, which is the industry centered in the towns and spread throughout the municipality of Clare. Nevertheless, the tertiary level of employment predominates.

Income is modest in all sectors of employment. Net yearly income is below $1,000 for nearly three-tenths of the wage-earners, and another four-fifths net less than $3,000. And yet, seasonal employment is not as great as in many other counties in the Maritimes; approximately 65 per cent of the wage-earners are employed from 40 to 52 weeks. (The climate is favourable to marine operations during the greater part of the year.)

Average yearly income may be estimated at $2,330 (45-hour week) for male adult workers in wood and fish processing plants and in shipbuilding. This is an average hourly rate of $1; in Shelburne it is only 90 to 95 cents. The five hundred workers in the Yarmouth textile industry earn about $1.25 an hour. The people accept these modest earnings: everyone is governed by local economic conditions.

The socio-economic "thermostat" for the area is set for an average income of between $2,500 and $3,000. This average is not the common denominator for high and low income zones. It may be applied in a relatively consistent manner from Digby to Shelburne. The three sections of the region - that is the three towns and the Digby-Yarmouth and Yarmouth-Shelburne coasts show greater variation in the way income is earned than in the amount of earnings: tertiary-level activities (services, utilities, trade, administration, transport) and industry in the towns; wood processing, fishing and farming between Digby and Yarmouth; and almost exclusively, fishing down to Shelburne.

A fairly straight coastline to the north-west and its fingerlike formation in the south-east have contributed to the differences in habitat and ways of thought. Community life seldom goes beyond local frontiers in the small hamlets that appear here and there. It is the strong urban framework which fortunately makes for over-all cohesion. Yarmouth is the true regional capital which looks not only to the Maritimes but also to commercial New England. The southwestern part of Nova Scotia is economically active and socially integrated; a modest income is the general rule and poverty is the exception.

NOTE: Some interesting research during the past 10 years has been carried out on regional development in Digby County. Its main object has been to study the relationship between mental health and social milieu (Hughes, Leighton, Rapoport, and Tremblay 1960).

CHAPTER V

CHARLOTTE - PROSPEROUS PAST, UNDEREMPLOYED PRESENT

GENERAL INFORMATION

Bio-Physical Setting

Charlotte County belongs to the geo-morphological region known as the Southern Uplands, the strata of which are made up, from north to south, of Permian-Carboniferous age rocks and of two Devonian granite zones separated by a large deposit of Precambrian intrusive rock. It is rough country, particularly in the south and east. Thus, the intrusive rock hills in the eastern zone (altitude varying between 200 and 700 feet) are unfavourable for settlement, and the laying out of large areas for military and conservation purposes is indicative of this fact: Utopia Military Training Ground, Utopia Game Reserve, Lepreau Game Refuge. North-east of Charlotte the terrain is fairly level (average altitude 400 to 500 feet).

Lakes are relatively less numerous and smaller than in the surrounding regions; we note the South Oromocto and Lake Utopia in the east. The river system runs in a north-south direction, and watersheds are small and abundant, excepting Magaguadavic River, Digdeguash River and especially the St. Croix, the border river having its source in Spednik Lake. Rivers flow into the sea on a jagged coastline full of bays: vast, magnificent Passamaquoddy Bay, Oak Bay to the west, Maces Bay to the east. The River Letang is a tidal river throughout. The St. Croix is a great mass of water, one mile wide and eight miles long, flowing between St. Andrews and Oak Bay.

A clutter of small islands lies in the Letang estuary. This is a prelude to the scenery of the large bay, where a whole network of islands oriented north-east, south-west belong to New Brunswick and Charlotte. The most important ones are Deer

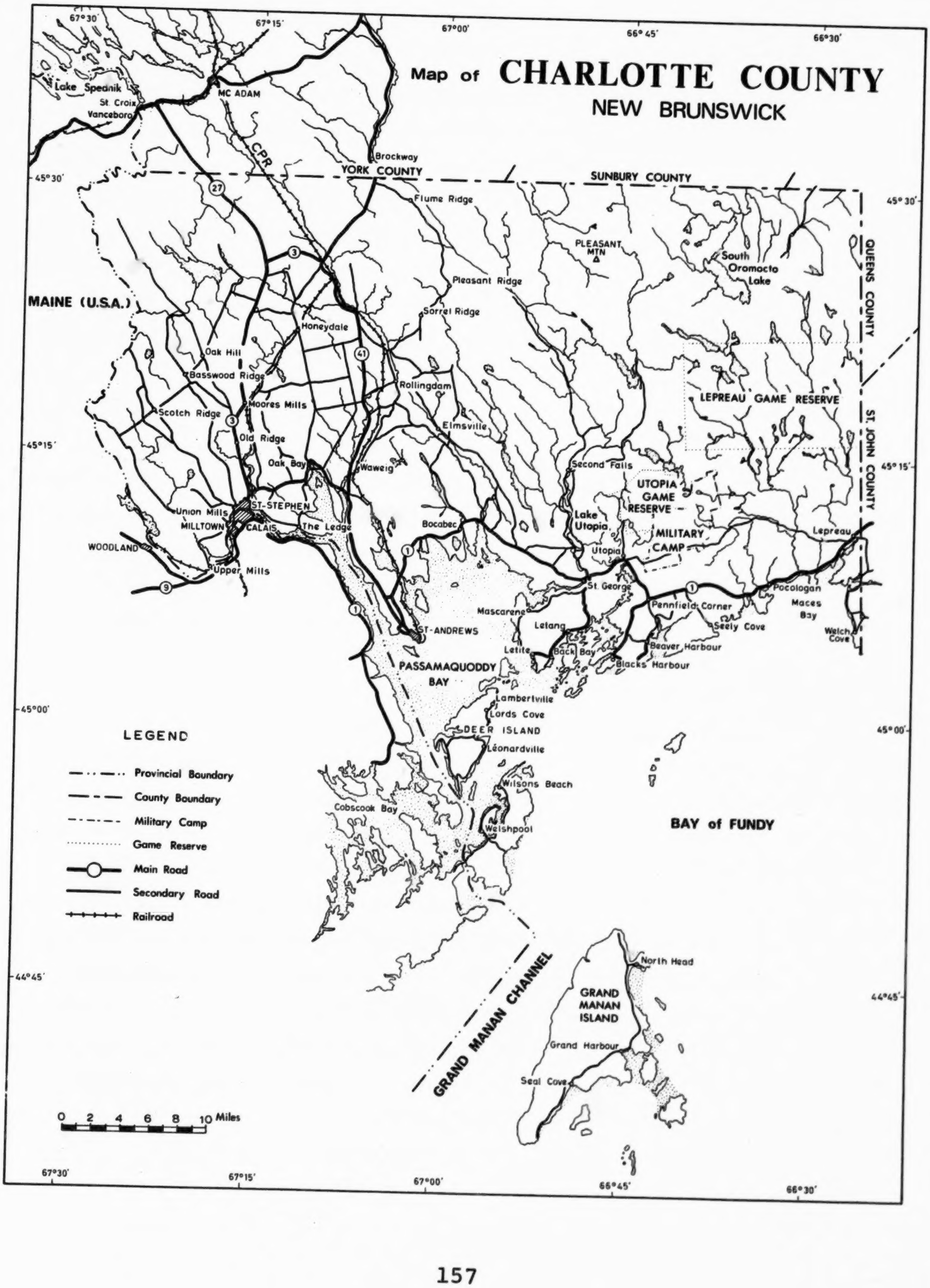
Island and Campobello, six and eight miles in length respectively. They seem to be the result of flood action, and are not distinctly separated from the mainland. From a geo-morphological viewpoint, they belong to the broken coastline of the Cobscook Bay complex in Maine. Only Grand Manan Island is truly seabound. Relatively compact in shape, it stretches over a length of 15 miles and a width of 7 miles, and is bordered by a semicircle of small islands to the east. Tides are moderate along the islands, but of considerable size (25 feet) along the Charlotte coast, as elsewhere in the Bay of Fundy.

Similar to the Maritimes as a whole, soils correspond to podzols and the natural vegetation is that of the Acadian mixed forest consisting of quality hardwoods (maple, elm, beech) and conifers like red spruce, white spruce, white pine and balsam fir.

The climate is moderate, and there is a lengthy growing season. Temperatures are the same as those for the rest of the Maritimes in January (15-20°F), and in the summer months (62-64°F along the coast, 64-66°F inland). The frost-free period varies from 100 days inland to 160 days on the coast; in heavily populated areas, this period is from 140 to 160 days. Rainfall is relatively heavy along the coast (40-45 inches) but decreases inland (35-40 inches), a fact which is emphasized by the number of days of rainy weather: 125-150 and 100-125, respectively. Fog envelops the islands for 70-90 days of the year and lies along the coast for 50-70 days annually; 30-35 days of thick fog occur inland, a low-altitude area favouring mist.

Evolution of Settlement and Economic Activity

Charlotte County is a land filled with history. The establishment of the De Monts colony on Ste-Croix Island in 1604 coincided with the beginning of permanent habitation in North America. From 1686 to 1704, the French were on Indian Island and even occupied St. Stephen (Chartier - 1695). Their



Map of CHARLOTTE COUNTY
NEW BRUNSWICK

67°30'
67°15'
67°00'
66°45'
66°30'
45°30'
45°15'
45°00'
44°45'
Lake Spednik
St. Croix
Vanceboro
MC ADAM
CPR
Brockway
YORK COUNTY
SUNBURY COUNTY
QUEENS COUNTY
ST. JOHN COUNTY
MAINE (U.S.A.)
Flume Ridge
PLEASANT MTN
South Oromocto Lake
Pleasant Ridge
Sorrel Ridge
Honeydale
Oak Hill
Basswood Ridge
Rollingdam
LEPREAU GAME RESERVE
Scotch Ridge
Moores Mills
Old Ridge
Elmsville
Oak Bay
Waweig
Second Falls
UTOPIA GAME RESERVE
Union Mills
ST-STEPHEN
MILLTOWN
CALAIS
The Ledge
Bocabec
Lake Utopia
MILITARY CAMP
Utopia
Lepreau
WOODLAND
Upper Mills
St. George
Pennfield Corner
Pocologan
Maces Bay
Mascarene
Letang
Seely Cove
ST-ANDREWS
Letite
Back Bay
Beaver Harbour
Welch Cove
Blacks Harbour
PASSAMAQUODDY BAY
Lambertville
Lords Cove
DEER ISLAND
Léonardville
Wilsons Beach
Cobscook Bay
Welshpool
BAY of FUNDY
GRAND MANAN CHANNEL
North Head
GRAND MANAN ISLAND
Grand Harbour
Seal Cove
27
3
41
1
9
LEGEND
Provincial Boundary
County Boundary
Military Camp
Game Reserve
Main Road
Secondary Road
Railroad
0 2 4 6 8 10 Miles

expulsion by Church (1704) left the land deserted for nearly 60 years.

Between 1760 and 1783, several thousand Anglo-Saxon pioneers crossed the border from New England. The families arrived by sea, grouped according to their place of origin for the most part. The chartered ships were loaded with all the settlers' possessions. People came to farm and were after the good land offered by the government. The immigrants, accustomed to this kind of life, vigorous and active, were not afraid to spread out into the forest. Profit and well being were their main objectives.

Settlement began at Scoodic (St. Stephen) in 1770, and extended along Passamaquoddy Bay including the mouth of Digdeguash River (St. Patrick parish). The Americans were also joined by a few Englishmen driven here by the bad socio-economic conditions prevailing in the British Isles. The English were mostly Yorkshiremen (1772-1774) and they were offered the same settlement facilities by the government. Trade began after a short while, based on fur, fish, and pine for Admiralty ship masts.

Settlement of the islands went on simultaneously. There were fishermen and traders on Indian Island as early as 1763. Americans settled at Wilson's Beach (Campobello) in 1766. They were joined by 30 English settlers brought to New Warrington in 1770 by Captain Owen (Island concessionnaire - 1767). This latter undertaking was carried out within the framework of an official project aimed at favouring colonization through a tenure system, by means of which vast areas were granted to large owners and important societies. The success of the venture was more than relative. In the same way, Deer Island was occupied by its owner, Captain Ferrel (1770), some fishermen and a few "deserters" from Owen Colony.

Such was the situation when the great wave of Loyalist immigration was launched (1783-1812). Although they set the pace for the tide, they were nevertheless not alone: they were flanked by disbanded Scottish regiments and various groups of American settlers. For the most part, the families arrived in groups according to their place of origin.

Civilian Loyalists came mainly from Castine, Maine; a large number of disbanded Loyalist soldiers also came to the region. The government helped them to settle and areas of land were granted to all groups. The Penobscot Association of Loyalists and the Cape Ann Association are to be noted. The members of this latter group were not Loyalists, and they were settled inland by the government, far from navigable waters. (The only evidence of discrimination during this period.) Unlike the civilians, the Loyalist soldiers found it difficult to get used to country life; there was some instability and some of them moved to other places. Among the new arrivals was a compact group of Europeans, made up of members of a disbanded Scottish regiment. They were given land at Scotch Ridge, north-west of St. Stephen (1804). This was a vigorous settlement which soon spread out to Pomeroy Ridge, Basswood Ridge and Oak Hill.

Settlement developed rapidly.[1] Already there was marked concentration at St. Stephen and Milltown; people also settled at Old Ridge to the north and at Upper Mill to the south. In the eastern part of Passamaquoddy Bay, there were settlements at Oak Bay, Bocabec and Digdeguash; in this latter area, the village of St. Patrick contained 30 to 40 families: sawmill, gristmill, shipbuilding. The same goes for Belleview (Beaver Harbour), a "town" planned for the Loyalists. There were 200 houses in Belleview in 1787, but a fire razed everything that same year. St. Patrick Village also disappeared later. We should also mention Black's Harbour, Seely Cove (Pennfield parish), Lepreau and Maces Bay on the coast. People also settled inland: Second Falls upstream from St. George, on the Magaguadavic River, Tower Hill and Leverville behind Oak Bay.

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[1] New Brunswick founded in 1784, took in that part of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy. More than 12,000 Loyalists settled there and the question of the inefficiency of the Halifax government was raised. The favourable results of their intervention were not long delayed.

Soon the younger generation began to settle in their turn and took up abandoned land elsewhere. (Consolidation of agricultural territory.) People went inland but soils were often of poor quality. They fell back towards the ports and islands of Passamaquoddy Bay. In general, growth was vigorous, and different social and ethnic groups were tending towards homogeneity.

After 1800, important shipments of timber and lumber were assured. Previously, it had been possible to use little streams as sites for small sawmills and gristmills, but now larger rivers had to be chosen. Good sites were the reason for founding St. Stephen (seven sawmills), Milltown, St. Patrick, St. George (five sawmills) and Lepreau. There were more than 20 sawmills in 1803. Since 1786, St. Andrews had been the county seat. Expansion was rapid and lumber exports made it an active port. Shipbuilding was of primary importance; 42 ships were launched between 1785 and 1803. St. Andrews was the commercial centre of the Bay. In the whole of New Brunswick it was second only to Saint John for population and economic activity. This favourable situation was partly due to the lack of a road network; there was still nothing but bad trails throughout the region.

The period between 1812 and 1850 was marked by a rise in regional population and the arrival of some thousands of British immigrants. A census of immigrants according to origin, made in Charlotte in 1851, showed that there were 2,569 Irishmen, 291 Scots, 234 Englishmen, and 438 persons of other origins, mostly Americans.

The majority of British immigrants were poor people. History tells us that a ship from Belfast landed 210 Irish at St. Andrews in 1821. Immigrants headed for the towns, the parts of the country which were already settled and the United States. The Irish were responsible for the founding of two settlements: Tryon Settlement (1838) and Flume Ridge (1840-50) in the north, in Dumbarton. The Scots, for their part, settled at Mascarene and Letang, along the Bay. Immigrants were also hired for the construction of the St. Andrews and Quebec Railway; 200 Irishmen were sent over for this specific purpose by Earl Fitzwilliam in 1847.

We have yet to mention the "military settlements" designed for discharged soldiers of the New Brunswick Fencibles Regiments. Lots were granted to them along the Fredericton - St. Andrews road between Oromocto and Magaguadavic. Sixty lots were distributed in this way at Piskahegan but, for the most part, the land seems to have lain fallow. The traditional settlers travelled up the St. Croix River along which they founded Lynnfield, Pinkerton and Anderson. They did the same thing along the Digdeguash: Rollingdam, Whittier Ridge, Brockway.

Transport and communications developed during the period 1812 to 1850. The St. Andrews - Hanwell road was built west of Lake Oromocto, starting in 1827. In 1840, the Eel River - Oak Bay road and the St. Stephen - St. Andrews side road were built. Steamship services were established. St. Andrews was obviously the principal port for these ships. Finally, in 1836, there was even a question of digging a canal connecting the St. Croix and St. John rivers.

This was the period of chaotic construction of railways which soon criss-crossed the Maritimes. The St. Andrews and Quebec Railway reached Canterbury in 1858 and Richmond in 1862. A junction was made with St. Stephen in 1866 and with Woodstock in 1868. The Saint John - Shediac line, the construction of which began in 1858, was completed two years later;

eventually it extended westward to reach McAdam and Fredericton in 1869. The railway builders' euphoria was not entirely unfounded: the intense activity of the timber industry was conducive to optimism. The period between 1830 and 1860 was known as the "Golden Era" in Charlotte. Here is what was said about the Calais - St. Stephen sector: "The shipyards hummed and the river was a forest of masts, when the big square-riggers lay at the ledge, and the wharfs on both sides were piled high with lumber from the scores of sawmills and lathmills that lined the stream." (St. Stephen-Milltown Development Board 1963).

During the thirties and forties there was a village of considerable size at the Ledge (three miles downstream from St. Stephen). This was a shipping port for the timber used in ships built for the high seas. Much was made of the "Captains of Industry", important lumber dealers. Soon the forest was showing signs of exhaustion.

Agricultural development was also decreasing. Acts aimed at encouraging agriculture had little effect here. The 1849 Labour Act resulted only in the Ferriebank attempt, a small settlement which came out from Saint John but soon dispersed. The same thing happened in Canoose (1878), where an attempt at colonization was made by the people of the region and some Americans from Maine, under the Free Grants Act. Settlement had reached a peak and a recession was approaching. The slowdown became general. The West, rich in agriculture, and industrial New England attracted the men. Regional immigration came to a halt and the exodus began. The economy was shattered by the end of sailing, and new trade policies were being developed on a national level.

St. Andrews, however, continued to benefit from its advantageous location. At the beginning of the century, the railway magnates laying down plans for this resort area included Lord Shaughnessy, Van Horne and, later on, the Oland brewers. The Canadian Pacific Algonquin Hotel was built in

1915. Campobello Island began to enjoy a well-deserved reputation as a peaceful holiday centre.

The prosperous timber era came to an end at the turn of the century, though we can still see, in the countryside, 25 sawmills spread out on each side of the lower St. Croix valley. The demand for pulpwood climbed sharply. The St. Croix Paper Company built a mill at Sprague's Falls on the American border, beside the St. Croix River. Production began in 1905 at the mill and the paper was sent to the Boston Globe. At St. George, a mechanical pulp mill was built in 1902 by the Upper New York State Syndicate.

The great fish processing and trade empires also began to develop. Conley's Lobsters Ltd., which began operating on Deer Island in 1900, established itself at St. Andrews. The two Connors brothers launched their sardine processing enterprise in 1885; it was purchased by the McLean brothers in 1923. During that same year, 100,000 cases of sardines were marketed. The industrial empire touched many localities: Black's Harbour, Beaver Harbour, Campobello, Deer Island, Grand Manan, Back Bay, Pocologan.

St. Stephen had the advantage of a twin town, Calais, which grew up on the right bank of the river, on American soil. As at St. Stephen, the only industry had been lumber. (The site had been incorporated in 1809.) The first bridge, the Milltown Upper Bridge, had connected the two banks since 1824. The Charlotte population soon began a certain amount of daily commuting: equipped with visas, people went to work in Calais. They also married there. In 1812, with the war between Canada and the United States in full swing, Calais citizens borrowed gunpowder to celebrate the 4th of July; Upper Canada was far away indeed! There seems to have been a strong feeling of unity between the inhabitants of these two frontier towns. "The great river divides the people on its either banks, but the river valley is a single unit, and the valley people are one in spite of difference of allegiance."

The people of Charlotte County did not wait for the decline of the lumber industry to diversify their manufactured production. The most important testimonies to this effect are the founding dates of the factories which are still standing: 1850, 1870, 1900, 1910.

Until 1870, St. Stephen and Milltown were treated as one, but in that year they were incorporated as separate towns. Milltown was to become the cotton town. Canadian Cottons Ltd. and Dominion Textile Ltd. were the main industries from 1882 to 1957. More than 1,000 employees were at work in 1954, but three years later there was a sudden shutdown. Many other industries went out of operation between 1945 and 1950: manufacturers of axes, shoes, soap, etc. Let us point out, finally, that St. George was known as the "Granite Town" at the beginning of the century. Three hundred workers were employed there. The shutdown came in 1920; red granite lost its popularity, the equipment was poor and American tariffs had been raised.

Along with the slowing down of manufacturing activity, the population has shrunk. The countryside has become deserted. Agriculture is now out of the question. With the exception of the St. George mill, lumbering is of little importance; pulpwood is sent to the American factory in Woodland. This leaves sardine and lobster fishing, services, and the outdated industry in St. Stephen with its low salaries. The Loyalist spirit no longer finds anything to fire it here, although it is courageously stated that: "There is still pioneering to be done", thereby signifying faith in the possibility of remodeling the economy of Charlotte.

Population

The population curve of Charlotte County reached its peak more than 80 years ago: 1881 (Table 11). The volume at that time was largely due to the unprecedented boom of the 1861-1871 decade, during which the population increased by 90 per cent.

However, the gains of 1881 were not maintained, more than 2,000 inhabitants were lost in the course of the following decade and, as a result of the continuous recessive process, the volume of population in 1911 represented only 81 per cent of the volume of the peak year.

This situation continued until 1951, when the population stood at 25,136 persons. The textile industry in Milltown, with its 1,000 employees, was still running at full capacity. Curiously enough, the increase in the population was spread over most of the census subdivisions of the county. But, 10 years later, in 1961, the textile industry had disappeared, and the recessive process had resumed its course.

TABLE 11 - POPULATION OF CHARLOTTE - 1824-1961

1824	9,267	1871	25,882	1921	21,435
1834	15,852	1881	26,087	1931	21,337
1840	18,178	1891	23,752	1941	22,728
1851	19,938	1901	22,415	1951	25,136
1861	13,662	1911	21,147	1961	23,285

The population is mainly rural (66 per cent), and so-called "non agricultural" country people account for 92 per cent of this rural population. Less than 8,000 inhabitants of the county are considered urbanized. This applies only to St. Stephen (3,380), Milltown (1,892), St. George (1,133) and St. Andrews (1,531). At the present time the population decrease in the county is even being felt in these towns; since 1951 there are 800 fewer inhabitants in the first three centres. St. Andrews shows a slight gain.

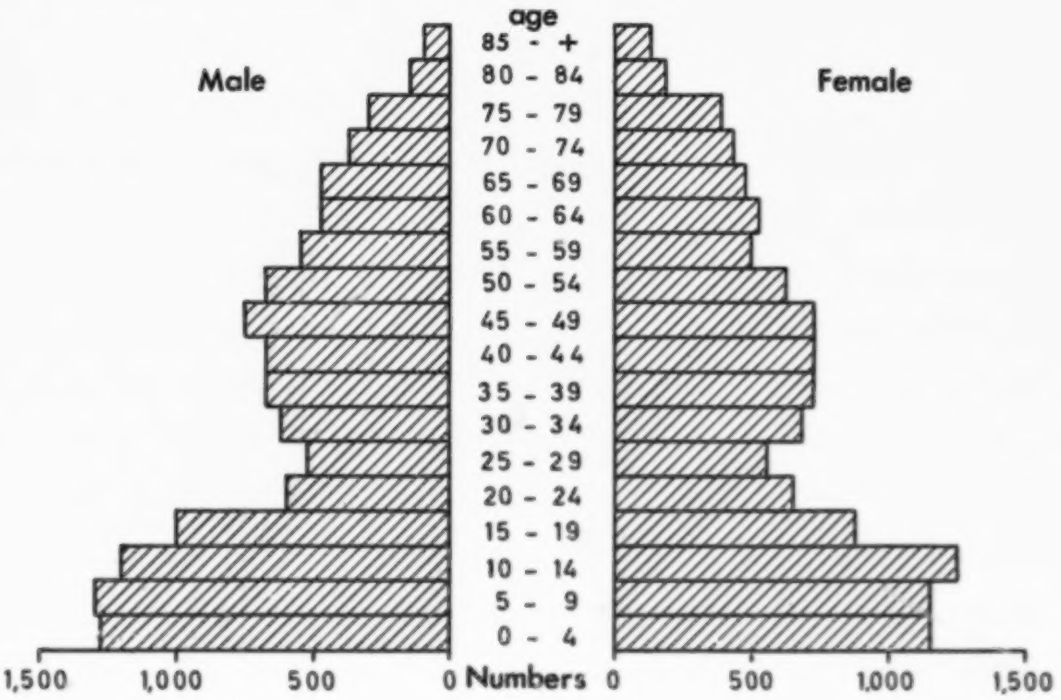
An examination of the geographical distribution of the population reveals several features. First of all, we notice that 91 per cent of the population are localized on the large islands; West Isles (Deer Island-976 inhabitants), Campobello (1,137) and Grand Manan (2,564) for a total of 4,677 inhabitants. On the mainland, most of the interior is empty for all practical purposes; the subdivisions which cut up the interior from east to west, namely Clarendon (20), Dumbarton (620) and St. James (1,263), comprise only 8 per cent (1,903 inhabitants) of the volume of settlement. The population is concentrated on the coast, but there the breaks in settlement are marked; 18 per cent of the population (4,206) are to be found between St. George and the eastern boundary of Charlotte and 53 per cent between there and the American border (12,499 inhabitants).

In the first sector, the eastern, we are mainly concerned with St. George and the small localities built on the two peninsulas separated by the Letang estuary, especially Black's Harbour - Beaver Harbour. (Over 3,000 people live in St. George and Black's Harbour.) From St. George to Lepreau, over a distance of 20 miles, the country is practically empty.

The second sector, the western, *applies mainly to the* estuary and the lower valley of the St. Croix. St. Andrews (1,531 inhabitants), isolated on a peninsula, is the only centre of settlement situated between Oak Bay and St. George, a distance of more than 30 miles by road. The only important concentration in Charlotte is St. Stephen-Milltown (5,272 inhabitants), which comprises 23 per cent of the population of the county.

The age pyramid in Charlotte reveals an aged population that is affected by emigration. Here the ratio between the sexes is balanced at: 100 (male ratio of 102 per cent for the Province). In 1951 the ratio was 98 males to 101 females. The population of elderly persons is great: 14 per cent of the total volume are 65 and over, 18 per cent are 60 and over. Adults (20 to 59) comprise 58 per cent of the population. The rate of population increase is very slow.

AGE – SEX PYRAMID
CHARLOTTE COUNTY – 1961



In 1951 the birth and death rates were 25.4 and 10 per thousand, leaving a natural increase of only 15.4. These rates stood at 21.5 and 11.8 in 1960. The residual rate of increase was then only 9.7 per thousand. Compiling the rates for these sparse years is difficult, yet their indicative value remains.

The population which has aged, is descended from an old settlement: 91 per cent of the inhabitants of Charlotte were born in the Maritimes, and 86 per cent in New Brunswick. The remainder consists mainly of 1,125 people born in the United States, and of 426 born in the United Kingdom.

The proportion of people of English origin is 88 per cent and of French origin 6 per cent. There are also 858 persons of Dutch, Scandinavian and German origins. Barely 4 per cent of the population (894) claim both French and English as their official languages. As regards the mother tongue, English is normally dominant; only 716 people indicate French as their mother tongue. On the subject of religion, the Baptists (33 per cent) outnumber the Roman Catholics (16 per cent), the Anglicans (15 per cent) and the United Church (21 per cent). There are also the Pentecostal Church (6 per cent) and the Presbyterians (4 per cent).

The distribution of the labour force (7,618 persons) according to industry leaves barely 19 per cent employed at the primary level. A high proportion of the labour force is engaged in tertiary-level activities (48 per cent) and that employed at the secondary level is not negligible (33 per cent). As usual, manufacturing employs most of those working at the secondary level, 2,153 to 2,540, namely 1,410 men and 743 women. At the tertiary level, there is the usual division between commerce, services, communications and administration. Employment at the primary level is divided between fishing (688), lumbering (477) and agriculture (275).

The predominance of the tertiary level appears again in the analysis of manpower according to professional division: 46 per cent of the total. The proportion is evidently not as great for men (38 per cent - 2,115) as for women (67 per cent - 1,387). Finally, we note that more than 2,000 men and women are classified as manual workers: 27 per cent of the labour force.

Charlotte County has 5,878 wage-earners: 3,994 men, 1,884 women. The average income amounts to $2,328 for men and $1,319 for women. There is no need to insist upon the lowness of this average: 26 per cent (1,451) of the labour force received less than $1,000 for the 12-month period preceding June 1, 1961; 79 per cent of the labour force earns less than $3,000. The residue is mainly distributed between $3,000 and $6,000, and only 102 persons (2 per cent) earn more than $6,000.

Twenty-one per cent of the wage-earners work less than 27 weeks per year, but 64 per cent work from 40 to

52 weeks. At the end of March 1965, 1,107 persons (685 men - 422 women) were unemployed; half of these were from the fish processing industry and construction. In mid-July, 1965, the number was reduced to 468 persons (243 men - 225 women); there the range of sectors was wider, but most of the unemployed were from the transport industry or unskilled sectors. The value of this data is limited, however, due to the fact that the situation changes from year to year.

DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND MANPOWER

A relatively diversified manufacturing industry flourished for some time in St. Stephen - Milltown, but factors external to the regional economy have brought economic activity back, in the main, to the level of the exploitation of natural resources. It is the classical trilogy: fishing, lumbering, agriculture. Agriculture is marginal, forestry is a secondary occupation, and fishing is the only vigorous activity. Employment and income follow the same pattern.

NOTE: With regard to the subsoil, granite and limestone are no longer of any importance, leaving only the Pleasant Mountain tin mining project as a possibility; this has been in the wind since 1960. Things are now taking a serious turn, and a construction firm is putting up a pilot plant in order to determine whether the operation would be profitable: 8,000 tons of ore a day will be treated.

From Lumber to Pulpwood

The "Golden Era" of lumber and of boatbuilding is only a memory. Now the main activity is cutting pulpwood; the major part of the production supplies the large American mill in Woodstock, and the balance goes to the factory in St. George.

(a) An international industry

The large St. Croix Paper Company is situated five miles to the south-west of Calais, as the crow flies. Newsprint has been produced there since 1906, supplying American newspapers, including the Boston Globe, which is the largest customer; it was also the first at the beginning of the century. The years 1955-63 represented a period of major investment: $20 million. Curiously enough, it was in 1963 that the Georgia-Pacific Corporation, a powerful American business empire controlling 80 factories, took over the St. Croix Paper Company as a subsidiary. The Georgia-Pacific Corporation has since undertaken a $25 million expansion program, of which the main feature is the setting up of a bleached kraft pulp mill.

The Woodland factory is a real stimulus for the Calais - St. Stephen sector, and this is why there is reason to stress it somewhat. Some citizens of Charlotte, with visas, work in Woodland. The payroll, which amounts to $6 million per year, comprises 1,400 persons, of whom 650 are occupied in cutting wood.

We are especially interested in these lumberjacks. The St. Croix Paper Co. owns 618,168 acres in the valley, of which 342,187 are in Maine and 275,981 in New Brunswick (Charlotte and York). Timber rights are also held for 6,460 acres in Maine and 12,831 acres in New Brunswick. This province provides 40 to 45 per cent of the raw materials of the factory, and only on Crown forest timber is there a customs duty of $1 per cord payable. It is important to note that the St. Croix Paper Co. would be in a difficult position if Canadian wood were not available.

York and Charlotte supply Woodland with 140,000 cords per year; 30,000 cords come from the private holdings of the company and from Crown lands, and 110,000 cords are bought from small farmers. The wood from the first sector is white and black spruce (58 per cent), fir (30 per cent), and hemlock

(12 per cent). The woodland is divided between conifers (40 per cent), mixed wood (25 per cent), and hardwood (17 per cent).

The wood-cutting period lasts for nine months, from June to February. The company runs only one lumber camp, producing 12,000 to 14,000 cords, and obtains the major part of its supplies through 10 contractors (an average of 1,500 cords each). Work is carried on from 7 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., or 50 hours per week. The men "batch" (prepare their food) by shifts and by five-man camps. The old lumber camps have vanished, and instead we have an ingenious system of mobile units equipped with refrigerator, cooking stove, heater and furniture. These units cost $2,000 each and they are rented to the contractors at $26 a month.

The jobbers come from the area. Each one must direct a team of five men during 20 weeks of work, at the rate of 75 cords a week. One member of each team is the "owner" of a skidder whose purchase ($12,000) is financed by the company. The team is made up of two sawyers, the skidder operator, and two men who cut the timber into four-foot logs and pile it beside the exit road. There is a total of 60 lumberjacks, 20 truck drivers and 20 variously employed.

The company tries to alleviate the problem of the men having to acquire mechanical saws. It acts as seller and furnishes the lumberjacks with the saws, thus saving them from having to pay any interest. The net cost is $183, to be repaid on the basis of $15 per week. We were told that two months after the payment of the debt it is time to buy a new saw. The operating cost is about $3.50 a week (Table 12).

The weekly incomes of the lumberjacks vary from $60 to $180, depending upon the quality of the woodland, atmospheric conditions and the energy and skill of the crew. "The local lumberjacks are not worth much. They do not want to work." On one occasion, 26 applicants at the National Employment Service in St. Stephen had to be interviewed before a real woodcutter could be found. The good men come from Quebec and the north of New Brunswick, when the cutting season at Fraser is finished. During the summer many are also hired from Digby in Nova Scotia. Less than half of the woodcutters are from Charlotte.

NOTE: During a recent project for laying a transmission line, a private company needed some 60 lumberjacks to fell trees in the forest. No more than 40 were ever obtained, and none of these were from Charlotte. As before, the real lumberjacks came from the north of New Brunswick and Quebec. Their average daily pay varied from $17 to $23. The lumberjacks from the county arrived at work at 9 a.m.; several among them are supposed to have lost their unemployment insurance benefits due to this.

TABLE 12 - ESTIMATE OF A LUMBERJACK'S AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS (CHARLOTTE)

75 cords x $5.50: $412.50 / 5 men: $82.50 per man.
Deductions (operation of the saw, wear, spare parts) $10.00
Hourly rates: $82.50 - $10.00: $72.50 / 50 hours: $1.45

The average output of the local lumberjacks is low: ½ - 3 cords per day. It is the outside lumberjacks who are most likely to benefit from a bonus plan which is drawn up as follows, per crew: 60-70 cords-$10, 70-80 cords-$30, 80-90 cords-$40. It should be noted that bonuses are cumulative.

The major part of the wood hauled out of New Brunswick by the St. Croix Paper Co. is bought, however, from the small owners in Charlotte. The ratio of the volume of production to men utilized by the company would mean the employment of 370 lumberjacks (110,000 cords). Those variously employed do not count here, however, and 300 men would seem closer to reality. Furthermore, it appears that 8 to 10 producers supply 1,000 cords each, and that the others produce a steady supply of around 200 cords.

This wood is bought in the south-west of York and in Charlotte as far as St. George. The buying is controlled by 14 buyers, of whom two are definitely above average. From $12 to $13 per cord is paid for wood delivered at the roadside; $4 to $5 is added for the transportation to the mill. The small owners are not satisfied with the prices paid, and there is even the possibility of their requesting an embargo.

In 1963, 125 of them set up the Charlotte County Woodlot Owners Ass'n. The members are recruited mainly in the western sector of Charlotte. Their woodland has an average surface area of 60-65 acres (100 acre lots as a maximum), and 50-100 cords of commercial wood are cut on each per year: pulpwood, lumber, chipboard, etc. Besides the 125 active members, there are 125 smaller owners who will, apparently, soon join the association. Within a short time it seems assured of having over 200 members.

(b) A regional industry

This industry involves the mechanical pulp factory (now St. George Pulp and Paper Co.) built by the Upper New York State Syndicate in 1902. The factory has often changed hands: it was owned by the New York World from 1919 to 1927, bought by the International Paper Co., and finally bought by Edouard Lacroix in 1932. Tissue paper is now produced, and 80 per cent of the production is for the United States.

The raw material consists of 25,000 cords of wood (fir and spruce), 15,000 cords come from both the privately owned lands of the company (90 square miles) and Crown lands on which rights are held (135 square miles). The cutting, which is carried out during three or four winter months, is contracted out to small jobbers (an average of 500 cords each). The lumberjacks come from the north of the province. Mechanization is still at the planning stage here, and motive power is provided by horses. The rest of the supply, 10,000 cords, is bought in the eastern part of Charlotte; $13 to $14 is paid for this wood at the roadside and $18 at the mill.

Half the men in the factory labour force of 125 men are over 50 years old. The work is done in three 48-hour shifts at an hourly rate of $1.40 ($67.20 weekly). One week of holidays is allowed, and the employees have a health insurance plan. There has been a union in St. George for the past seven or eight years. Most of the employees' wives work, and the local population is industrious. A good number of citizens have built their own houses, and a vegetable garden often helps to make ends meet.

A Lagging Agriculture

Farming has become an entirely secondary activity in Charlotte County and a relatively detailed count has enabled us to scale down this activity to its true proportions. Essentially, there are fewer than 40 dairy farms, a certain number of blueberry farms and farm woodlots (Table 13). The dairy farms are spread out on the mainland. The last few farms scattered on the islands have recently disappeared; 13 small farmers had shared 50 cows to supply a dairy on Grand Manan Island.

With the exception of the St. Stephen area, the dairy farms are scattered. This scattering occurs especially along the coastline, and inland farms occur only behind St. Stephen and Oak Hill. And even there it is only a matter of a few units. On the other hand, it is interesting to recall that Harvey(York County), situated 16 miles to the north of the border of Charlotte, was at the beginning of the century one of the largest Jersey cattle raising centres in North America. Although the area has lost importance, it still excels at Toronto's Royal Winter Fair: more than 2,000 head of cattle are on pasture in Harvey. The area is situated in the prosperous region of the rich lands bordering the St. John River; the large market of Fredericton is 20 miles away.

TABLE 13 - CENSUS OF DAIRY FARMS IN CHARLOTTE COUNTY

A - Supply of the St. Stephen dairy - 17 producers*		
The Ledge	1 (farms)	25 cows (+300 apple trees)
Bay Road	1	25-30 cows
Oak Hill	2	20 and 30 cows
Lever Road	2	reduced stock
Milltown	1	20 cows
St. Stephen	9	number of animals unknown
B - Producers whose milk is not earmarked - 6 producers		
Waweig	2 (farms)	15 and 20 cows
St. Andrews	1	30 cows
Bay Side	1	15 cows
Upper Waweig	2	15 and 20 cows
C - Supply of the St. George dairy - 12 producers**		

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*A large Tower Hill farm also belongs to the St. Stephen area. The father and his two sons are partners on it. Four hundred acres of cleared land are distributed among several units, and there are 70 to 80 productive cows. There also are 900 laying hens.

**We have not obtained precise information regarding the farms supplying the dairy, which seems to be largely dependent upon the production of one farm (100 cows). This is situated at the entrance to the town and belongs to a large sardine curing and packing establishment.

The producers of Charlotte stressed the acidity of the soils and the predominance of rocky and uneven areas. The average farm is barely 35 acres and few farmers have more than 100 acres. This poor soil is favourable, though, for blueberry growing, and it is said that there are 140 people growing blueberries. The most important sectors are Rollingdam and Pennfield. Several producers have only one or two acres, but production in the county is considerable: 2 million pounds of blueberries in 1964. (The price of 13 to 14 cents per pound should rise in 1965.) A citizen from Calais who farms both

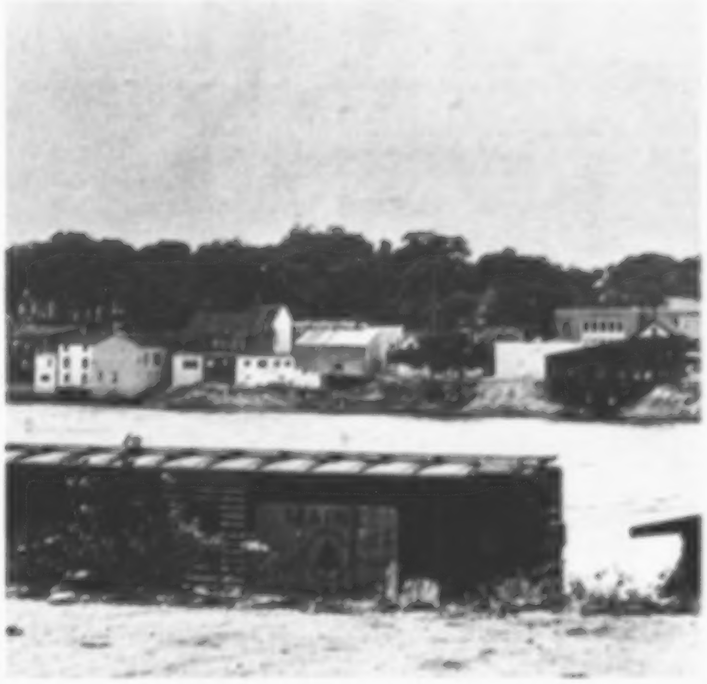

Figure 33. Calais and St. Stephen (well shaded by trees, on the left bank of the St. Croix) prospered during the "Golden Era"; but the changeover from lumber to pulpwood only benefited Calais.

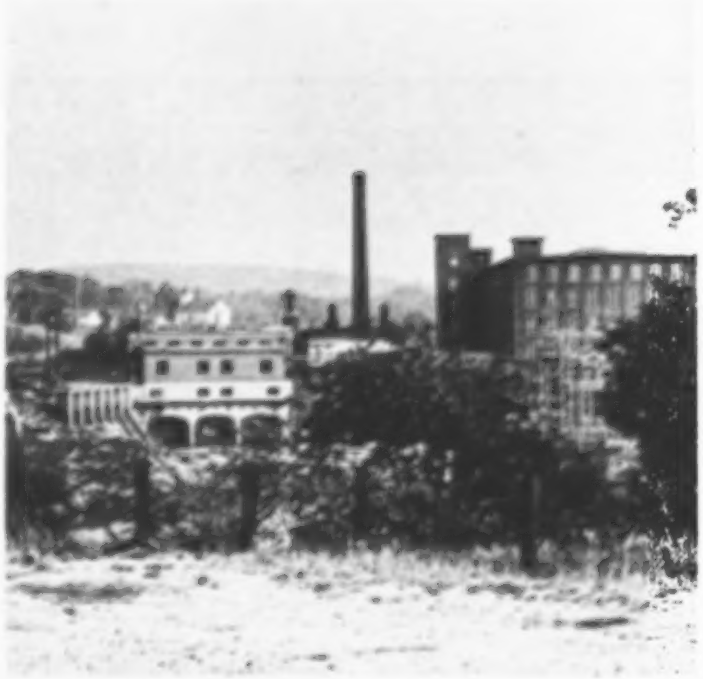

Figure 34. Milltown, adjoining St. Stephen, was a textile town; factories deserted since 1957; town's fate was decided elsewhere.

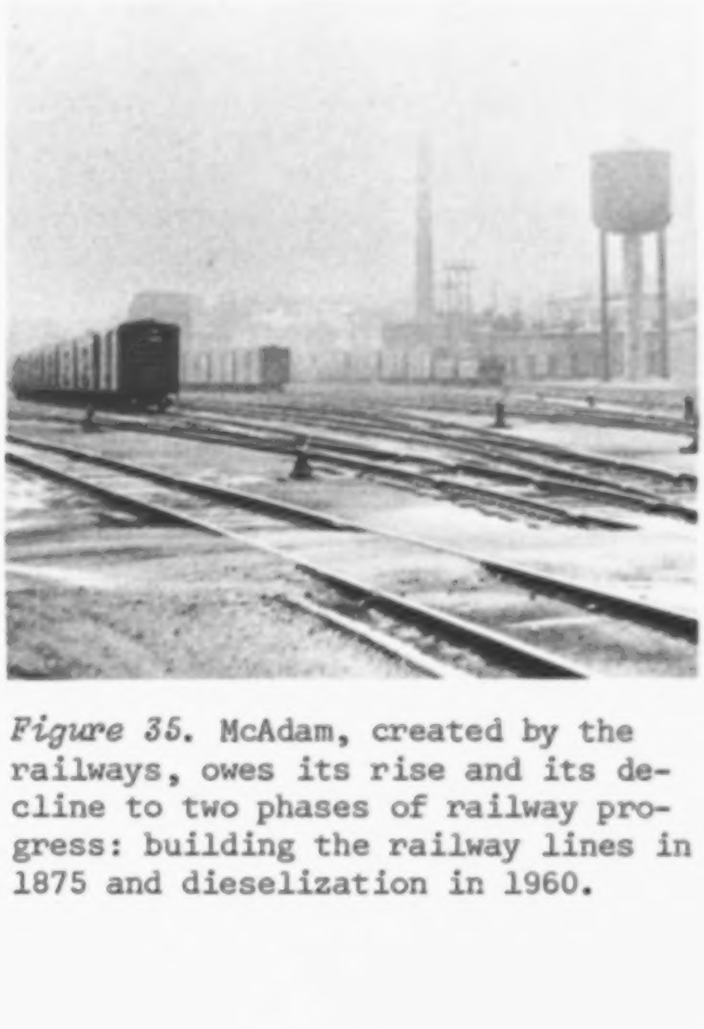

Figure 35. McAdam, created by the railways, owes its rise and its decline to two phases of railway progress: building the railway lines in 1875 and dieselization in 1960.

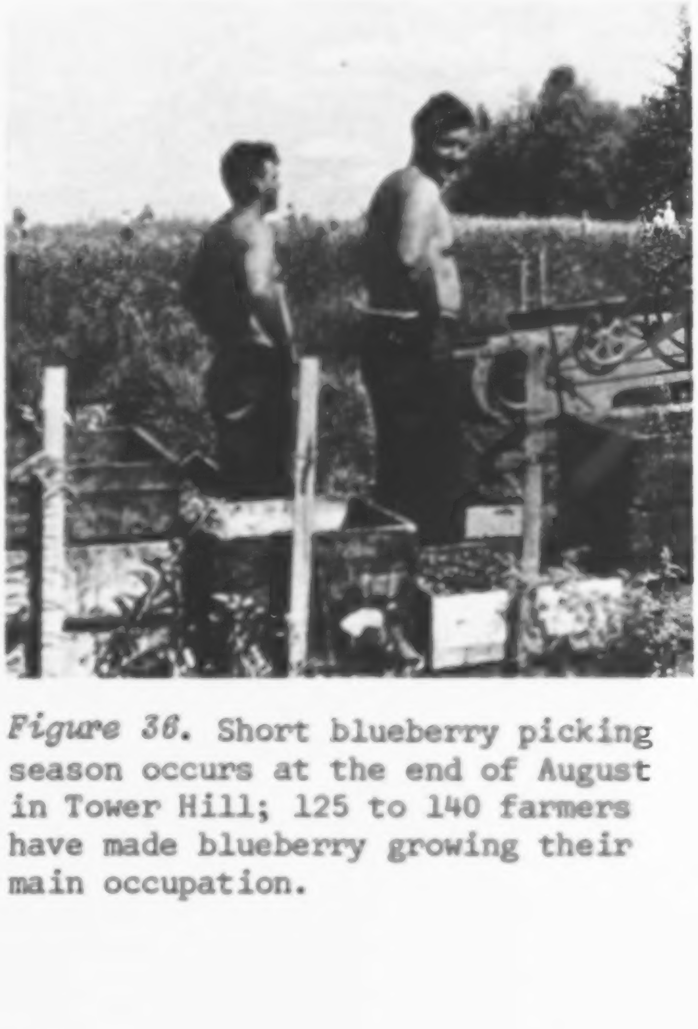

Figure 36. Short blueberry picking season occurs at the end of August in Tower Hill; 125 to 140 farmers have made blueberry growing their main occupation.

in Charlotte and in Nova Scotia claims that he harvests one quarter of the total production of New Brunswick. He sold 100,000 pounds of blueberries in Boston in 1964.

Interview - A meeting with an average producer enabled us to arrive at a clearer picture of what really happens. This producer bought a 50-acre field (this information is not confirmed) in Tower Hill five years ago. One half of the surface area is burnt off each year, while the other half is used for production. This producer assured us that he spends only 15 days a year running his farm. (He hires 25 people for 3 to 4 days to do the harvesting.) The net profit is somewhere around $3,500 to $4,000 a year. According to the producer, such a unit of production, together with some commercial woodland, enables one to make a decent living.

Strawberry picking is also quite important in Charlotte. Production amounts to 50,000 pints per year, which is sold on the local market. (The areas planted with strawberry plants could be considerably increased.) Charlotte is also an orchard region, yet this potential is hardly utilized. The odd farmer may grow a few hundred apple trees, but this is the exception. There is also an area of land favourable for tobacco growing (Pennfield). Finally, with regard to vegetable production, it is mentioned that a considerable volume of turnips was at one time sent regularly to the Boston market. On the whole, the present agricultural production does not meet the requirements of the regional market, with the exception of milk. Pork, eggs, fruit and vegetables are frequently mentioned as items in short supply.

In Charlotte the average age of full-time farmers is about forty. It is over 50 for the "happy fellows". The latter account for half of the total of 400 landowners, some engaged in agricultural production, some not. The "happy fellows" live on the farms of their ancestors. Their land is not sold, even though it may not be utilized: people are "sentimental".

Hunting and fishing are done in season. Cars and television sets are part and parcel of current commodities. People complain about taxes.

According to observers, the best agricultural producers will continue to improve. Several small producers would like to develop their farms, but do not have the financial means at their disposal. Oddly enough, a certain number of town folk would like to take up farming.

Finally, it is pointed out that ARDA supports policies like the Soil and Water Conservation Policy, which have been established for 20 years. The same applies to the Forestry Extension Service.

The Sardine Industry

Fishing and industrial fish processing assure employment for a labour force estimated at about 3,500 persons, in Charlotte.[1] Most of the 700 fishermen fish for sardine, and more than 2,000 workers, both men and women, are employed in the processing of this tiny fish. Mention should also be made of the lobster fishermen who supply a St. Andrews lobster cannery, and the pollack, haddock and cod fishermen.

NOTE: One of the most important lobster marketing companies in the Maritimes markets five million pounds out of a total of 50 million; distribution includes the United States (70 per cent), Canada (20 per cent) and Europe (10 per cent). Operations started on Deer Island in 1900. The company then moved to St. Andrews. The present installations date from 1946 (50 employees). The company was recently bought by a Halifax firm. The St. Andrews' organization is the largest marketing organization for live lobster in the world. A pond has been built at Deer Island which allows the conservation of one million pounds of lobster. This factor makes it possible to stabilize sales when the fishing is over.

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[1] It is worth mentioning the existence of an important Federal Government marine biology station at St. Andrews, staffed by 35 researchers, 65 technicians, and from 30 to 40 students during the summer.

Sardines are the business of a Charlotte County firm, whose network of factories in Charlotte controls 95 per cent of Canadian production. It is the most important sardine processing and packing establishment in the world. The organizations laid the foundation of their business in 1885. The business developed gradually until in 1923, production had reached 100,000 boxes. It was actually inherent development problems which led to the transfer of ownership during the same year. The new owner immediately undertook a program of modernization. Since 1959 the average annual volume of production has been one million boxes, or the equivalent of 400,000 tons of fish, or 600 million sardines.

Sardine fishing is done both along the coast and in the deep sea. Along the coast, crawls and net barrages are used. The powerful tides, which submerge the maze of rocky islets bordering the coast, carry the marine plants and microorganisms necessary to feed one of the richest concentrations of herring in the world. The fishermen have set up crawls planted in the silt at strategic places. These crawls, valued at from $6,000 to $12,000, have a minimum size of one acre. They have sometimes belonged to the same family for several generations (permitted by the Government). The sardines are picked up with draw-nets and loaded onto one of the Charlotte County based firm's 30 sardine boats. From mid-March to the beginning of January, this company buys the production of 400 crawl owners. The yield of the crawls is variable, depending upon type and size. A crew of from two to five men is necessary for the operation of a crawl.

A certain number of fishermen have the privilege of blocking off bights and the mouths of rivers with nets. Over 1,000 fishermen from Charlotte and from the neighbouring area of Saint John have crawl and barrage privileges. Then there is deep-sea seining on the waters of the Bay of Fundy, using 45-foot boats equipped with supersonic detectors, which deploy seines that are 200 fathoms long and 20 fathoms wide. We were told that several fishermen sell their catch in the United States. A problem which preoccupies coastal fishermen at the present time is the project to build tide-powered factories on Passamaquoddy Bay.[1] There is good reason to believe that the traditional set-up might be upset.

The company comprises factories distributed along the coast and on the islands including nine sardine processing and packing factories, five fish flour factories, one refrigeration factory for ground-fish (Beaver Harbour), and a clam canning factory at Pocologan. The sardine processing and packing factories are located on Deer Island, Grand Manan and Campobello, and at Back Bay, Beaver Harbour, and especially at Black's Harbour (Table 14).

The company is well integrated: a shipyard keeps the fleet in repair, tin cans are manufactured, lumber is cut for new construction, and certain machines are even designed and built on the spot.

The technique of utilizing waste material is well developed: shell (artificial pearls, chemical fire extinguishers), oil (soap and paint), residual waters (soluble proteins). The sardine market's range is very wide. It must be emphasized that 65 per cent of the marketing is done in Canada. The other major customers are the Commonwealth and Latin America.

The town of Black's Harbour is the result of a successful venture of the company. A good-natured paternalism has helped in the astute development there of a vast reservoir of family manpower. The houses, the 100-head dairy farm, the shops, the infrastructures, everything belongs to the company. The houses are let at low rents and services seem to be available at the lowest possible cost. The countryside is agreeable and picturesque, and the town is active (2,000 inhabitants).

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[1] This is the Quoddy Project which will cost over $1 billion for construction and labour in order to harness the tides.

TABLE 14 - LABOUR FORCE OF A CHARLOTTE COUNTY SARDINE FIRM

Black's Harbour	1,125	Deer Island	100
Beaver Harbour	250	Campobello	100
Back Bay	225	Grand Manan	200

NOTE: There are also 25 office employees and 100 municipal employees at Black's Harbour. At Freeport, Nova Scotia, there are also 125 employees. The total figure amounts to 2,250 persons.

The major period of activity lasts from spring through the summer peak to the first of November. Work is then considerably slowed down until January 15, with 500 to 800 employees kept on during this slack period. Twice as many women as men are employed by this firm. The male worker has work throughout the year, though, and factory work is a family concern; 60 per cent of the families have at least three members in the factory. Family income is about $150 during the active period. The women do piecework. Their pay varies from $65 to $110 per week for a maximum period of 50-55 hours. The average annual pay for women is $3,500. The basic hourly wage of the male worker is $1.10, but the rate generally averages from $1.50 to $1.75. When a worker reaches this level he moves usually into the salaried category, namely $70 to $100 per week; one-quarter of the male labour force is salaried. The income picture is thus relatively favourable in the sardine industry.

EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRY

Particularly during the last 10 years or so the region at the secondary level has been depressed. The abrupt shutdown of the textile industry has rendered the St. Stephen - Milltown community anaemic, and the change over to diesel engines on the railway network has practically wiped out McAdam, a railway hub situated in York, north of Charlotte. A large number of skilled men are unemployed, while those who work in the manufacturing industry at low salaries do not ask for more; at least they have a job.

McAdam, a Lifeless Railway Centre

McAdam is a small town strategically situated on the railway network but difficult to reach by road. From St. Stephen the road is the one which leads to the lumber operations of the St. Croix Paper Co. To the east of McAdam the road rejoins that linking St. Stephen-Harvey-Fredericton. Traffic is thus reduced to a minimum.

There was already a railway workers' centre at City Camps (name changed to McAdam at the beginning of the century) in 1875, as well as the St. Andrews-Woodstock line - the oldest line in New Brunswick. Soon the lines spread out towards Montreal, Saint John, Halifax and Boston. McAdam quickly became a railway centre. In 1900, what was then a magnificent station hotel was built, and in 1912 and 1913 McAdam expanded greatly as a result of the construction of the workshops.

At the beginning of the fifties there were 800 workers in McAdam but the wind was soon to change: the first diesel locomotive appeared on the Saint John-Montreal line in 1954. In 1960-1961 the Canadian Pacific started to change the whole network to diesel and heavy cuts were made in the labour force (Table 15). Between 1960 and 1963 the number of workers dropped from 800 to 300. The hotel was closed on October 1, 1959. At the same time, the amount of freight and the number of passengers carried decreased. On October 5, 1964, the Woodstock and Saint John branches were amalgamated. The workshops are empty and there are about 30 workers left.

Strangely enough, the population has not decreased much since 1959; there are still about 800 families (2,611 people). There is a general appearance of abandonment and

TABLE 15 - McADAM: TRAIN SERVICES DISCONTINUED SINCE 1960

Montreal	- Saint John	Woodstock	- St. Stephen
Boston	- Halifax	St. Stephen	- Edmundston
McAdam	- Saint John	McAdam	- St. Andrews

dilapidation at McAdam; it seems more like a large-scale railway depot than a small town. Huge workshops, topped by a high chimney, tower over everything else, with 20 or so sidings. The stone station hotel is still standing and is mirrored by a pool. There is no activity. Water lies in puddles. Lads of 14 to 17 years old sit patiently on the steps of a decrepit cinema. Many houses are covered with a dark red brick paper; others are of unpainted and worm-eaten wood.

Hopes are centred on the repair of box cars which, up to now, has been carried out at various places in the Maritimes and at the Angus workshops in Montreal. People also count on wheat being sent to Russia and elsewhere during the winter via the port of Saint John. This project would give work to 40 people in two years time. Paradoxically the Canadian Pacific finds ways of employing a hundred or so "happy fellows" during the winter. There remains an American firm which has employed 8 to 10 men for the past year and a half; there is talk of expansion which will bring the number of workers up to 50.

But people are perhaps deceiving themselves. McAdam was born and lived independently of the economies of Charlotte and York. (Could it have been otherwise?) McAdam flourished while it had a useful part to play, but that part seems to be coming to an inescapable end. However, people stay where they are even when the cards are down; they are a "homey type" in the Maritimes.

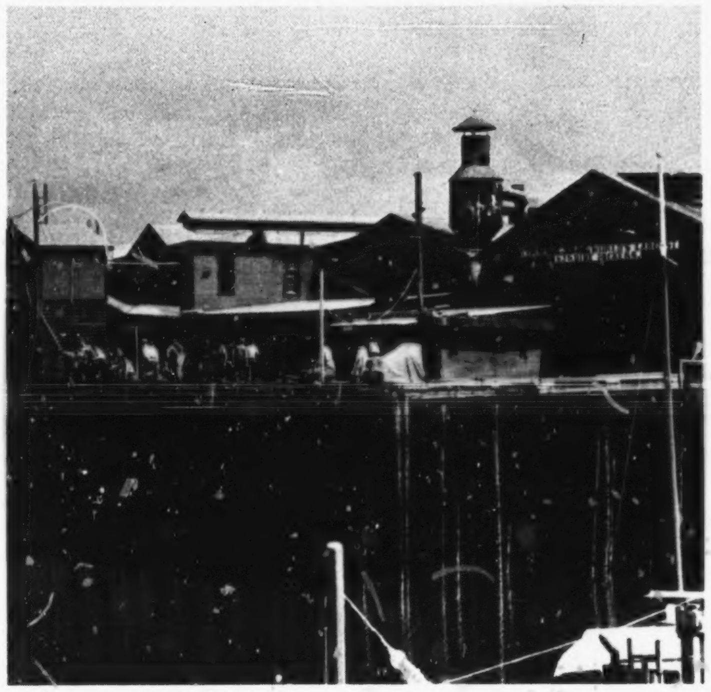

Figure 37. Workers at a sardine canning factory in Black's Harbour, take a brief break. A sardine boat is moored to the quay; the height of the piling gives a good indication of the height of the tides.

Figure 38. Black's Harbour is the base of the largest sardine packing industry in the world.

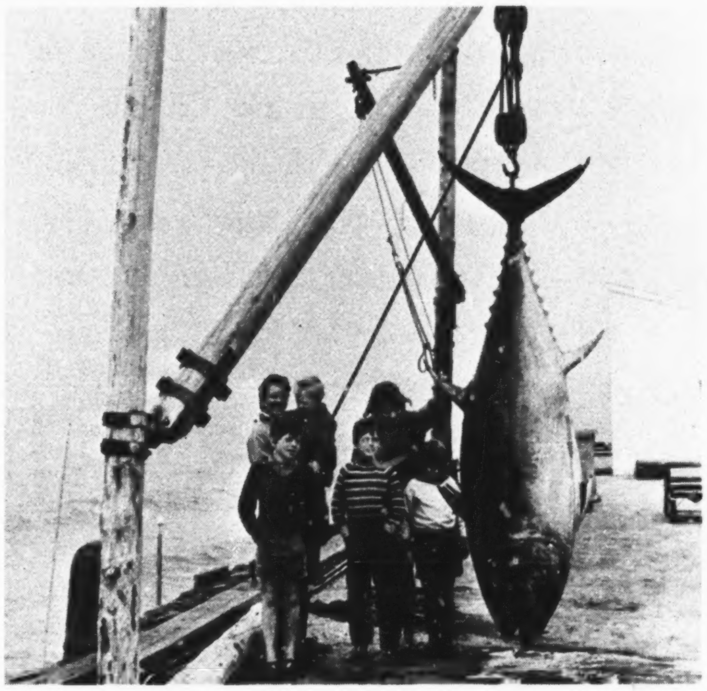

Figure 39. International Tuna Tournament each year attracts sportsmen from several countries to Cap Ste-Marie and Wedgeport; specimen weighs more than 600 pounds.

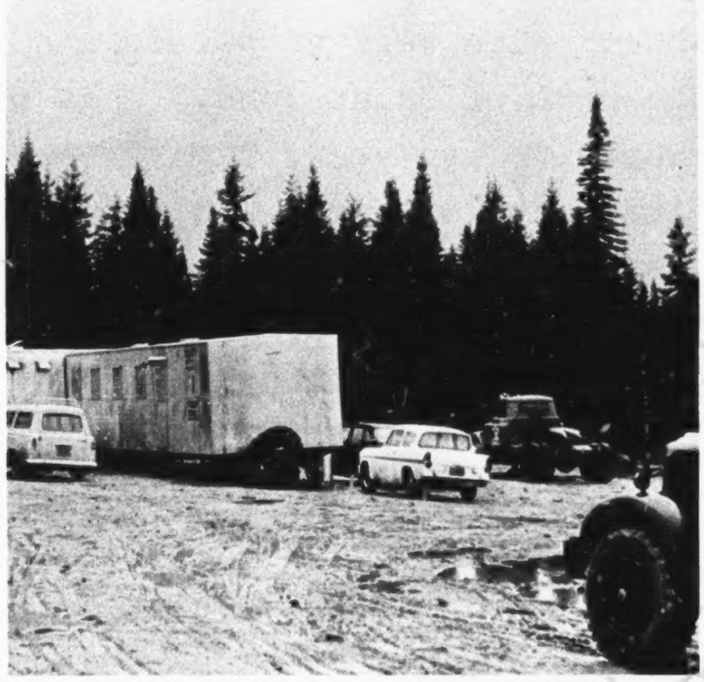

Figure 40. Living conditions of lumberjacks in Charlotte and Inverness counties generally leave much to be desired; recent innovation of providing trailers to live in seems satisfactory.

Employment Problems at St. Stephen - Milltown

From 1952 to 1954, more than 1,000 people worked in the textile industry at Milltown. In 1957 there were still 700 of them, but then came the sudden stop. Let us look at the list of applicants for work at the National Employment Service (April 30, 1963) and its relation to the labour employed in the textile industry. Several elements in this table should be stressed: first of all, the large number of applicants in the 45 to 65 age group (32 per cent of the total) and the large number of women looking for work (977). It will be noticed that the proportion of unemployed reaches 67 per cent for men and women together; for the women it reaches 80 per cent (Table 16).

TABLE 16 - APPLICANTS FOR EMPLOYMENT - N.E.S.: CHARLOTTE

Age Group	Male	Female	Total	%
-20 years	139	95	234	11.0
20-44 years	618	506	1,124	53.4
45-65 years	335	359	694	32.4
65 and over	74	17	91	3.2
	1,166	977	2,143	100.0
Skilled	532(45.4)	191(19.8)	723(33.7)	
Unskilled	634(54.6)	786(80.2)	1,420(66.3)	

The female employment sector includes mainly domestic services (75), selling (35) and office work (67). Men work mainly in lumbering (166), transport (116), the building industry (101), selling and office work (44). However, this table does not reflect the whole truth. Thus, 289 former workers in the textile industry have not applied for jobs because there is a definite lack of opportunities. Also, among the applicants are 309 men and 154 women who used to work in the textile industry. Finally, 133 textile workers (both men and women) now work outside the county, but hope eventually to find a job in their place of origin, which will allow them to return.

Those who are working guard their jobs jealously; there is little turn-over of labour at the chocolate factory (300 employees) and the waiting list for jobs is growing at a forest products firm (100 employees). Nor do people move out of the fish-processing industry (more than 1,800 employees).

At St. Stephen the level of wages varies between $30 and $50 a week; few people earn more or less than this. The women's average wage is slightly less than $40 weekly; that of the men is about $5 to $6 more. For some types of workers, piecework fortunately allows them to earn a higher wage. For example, here are the hourly rates of pay for some types of jobs: electrician ($1.20 to $1.50), mechanic ($1.00 to $1.50), truck driver ($1.00 to $1.10), labourer ($1.00). The over-all level of wages in this area corresponds to two-thirds of the average for the whole of Canada.

The Board of Trade, founded more than 50 years ago, took on new life in 1950 when the St. Stephen-Milltown Development Board Inc. was set up (Charlotte County Board of Trade [n.d.]; St. Stephen-Milltown Development Board 1963). An attempt was made to attract industries and it was in this manner that a pressed wood firm was set up in 1959.

Two other industrial developments are being set up. The first, a million-dollar factory will make rayon and nylon clothing. The firm will employ 100 people. The low level of salaries here was the deciding factor. The second development, a German electronics company, will invest about $400,000 and employ 150 people. The potential number of people required is from 200 to 300. Here again the low cost of labour seems to be the deciding factor in choosing this site. In addition to this, the lower cost of transportation resulting from the Maritimes Freight Act facilitates the moving in and out of products. As for transport by water to the markets of the world, the port of Saint John is only 75 miles away.

These new developments are essentially symbolic of the attempt to establish a new economic equilibrium in Charlotte. To help it succeed in this effort, Charlotte has the advantage of a plentiful and disciplined labour force which does not ask for too much.

MAJOR ASPECTS OF REGIONAL LIFE AND POVERTY

Charlotte County is a frontier region turned towards the sea (20 per cent of the population lives on the large islands). The over-all development of this region, already limited by geographic factors, was further reduced by the economic evolution of the twentieth century. The north-west of the county is a region of conifers and acid soils, while the north-east is a rugged region which is difficult to live in. Charlotte County is isolated from large concentrations of people and areas of diversified economic activity. St. Stephen is certainly one of the main gates to the United States, but it remains only a gate since, on the American side, there is the forest.

The centres of settlement were set up by Americans from New England; after 1783, a large number of these were Loyalists. It was the decisive entry of organized family groups admirably prepared to develop the land by their adaptation to the milieu, their manual dexterity and their mentality, which shaped settlement in the territory. The settlement by people from the British Isles (mainly from Ireland), on the other hand, was second rate; the people were for the most part poor - true industrial manpower.

All the coast was inhabited by 1800 and the territory reached its peak about 1850. The settlers began by farming, but soon turned to logging, sawmilling, boat building, fishing and trade. (Haven't there been 20 saw mills since 1800?)

The "Golden Era" which the local historians praise corresponds to the years 1830 to 1860.

Settlement had then become dense on the western coastal region and adjacent to the peninsulas of Letang. The inland region of the county was beginning to lose some of its people to the coastal region, and St. Andrews and St. Stephen attracted industry, commerce and the service industries. St. Andrews, which was favoured by circumstances, was for a long time considered a regional metropolis, carrying out the functions of an administrative and communications centre.

St. Stephen symbolized, and was identified with, the forestry development carried out in the watershed and along the border formed by the St. Croix River. St. Stephen and its American counterpart developed in partnership: "The river culture was a whole. Canadians and Americans shared a single British, Protestant background." (St. Stephen-Milltown Development Board 1961)

Before the end of the nineteenth century, here, as in the whole of the Maritimes, the changes in population and their mobility, along with the general political and technological evolution, restricted and altered the development.

The forest industry was severely affected. The high-value species (deciduous trees and white pine), the exploitation of which gave rise to a regional processing industry and transport activities, were displaced by low-value species for paper-making, most of which, when cut, were exported to the United States. The leadership and dynamism of the lumber industry, previously equally divided between Maine and Charlotte, passed entirely to the American side. Woodstock has also been strengthened recently and it will thus exploit more of the wood from the St. Croix valley. Charlotte provides few lumberjacks and they have to be brought in from the north of the province and from Quebec.

NOTE: It was Calais that benefited most from the 1,400 jobs in the factory and forest, provided by the St. Croix Paper Co. Trade and services are the main activities in Calais, which has a population of 8,200 (including Milltown, Maine) as compared with 5,800 in St. Stephen (including Milltown, N.B.).

Curiously enough, the wages of the lumberjacks, calculated at approximately $1.45 an hour, compare favourably with urban and industrial salaries. This favourable margin is reduced, however, by the climatic problem of seasonal and irregular employment which is inherent in lumbering. Furthermore, it is not the rural labour of the county which profits most from lumbering. It is, however, the small owners of forest holdings who supply most of the pulpwood for Woodstock (110,000 to 140,000 cords) and not the large undertakings. In the case of the St. George factory, the volume of purchases of this type is between 10,000 and 25,000 cords. The small owners are badly paid, receiving only $12 to $13 a cord. This situation led to the recent setting up (1963) of an association to obtain better prices.

The original type of agriculture linked to settlement, a way of life and a local market has never been of prime importance in Charlotte. Soon the rural population moved to the town, industry or fishing. So it is not really surprising to find that there are in the county 50 farmers, at most, who are worthy of the name. They keep dairy farms and most of them live around St. Stephen.

For some years, the country people have been cultivating blueberries on suitable land. There are 140 blueberry patches producing a crop worth $300,000 (2 million pounds). This enterprise, combined with woodlots, could be a partial solution to the problem of living in an inland region where the soil, on the whole, is not good for farming. The farmers (dairy farms) and those who own and develop woodlots are able to earn a decent income. It should also be mentioned that the natural conditions of soil and climate, together with market demand, are favourable to the development of horticulture and shrubs. However, there is no interest here, the people are preoccupied with the sea.

The coast of Charlotte is surrounded by waters in which there is a wealth of fish. The combination of a jagged coast and high tides makes it easy to catch fish in crawls and barrage nets. One might call it a choice fishing area. The catch is mainly sardine, though there is a fair amount of lobster. Fishing and the fish trade have been a major characteristic of the regional economy since settlement began. It seems that this activity has made regular progress.

The quantity of sardines caught actually satisfies 95 per cent of the Canadian market demand. However, sardine fishing itself is mainly small scale and is a traditional way of life for the majority of the 700 fishermen. The division of fishing into small units contrasts with the concentration of the fish-processing industry, where one firm has entire control. But, happily for the socio-economic equilibrium of Charlotte, this perfectly integrated fish-processing industry is divided into several factories on sites along the coast and on the large islands. Everything is co-ordinated from Black's Harbour.

More than 2,000 people work in the factories and women make up two-thirds of this figure. Compared with salaries in the county, and even in the rest of the Maritimes, salaries are high; the average annual earnings for a female worker are $3,500, and for a male, $4,000. The work is also a family affair and a good number of families have three or more of their members working in the factories. Also, no less important, fishing and factory work employ labour for most of the year. So there is hardly any question of mixed occupations.

Usually, for the outlying counties of the Maritimes, the regional manufacturing industry is not centred solely in fish processing. Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century there have been a chocolate factory, a printing works, a flour mill and a spinning factory at St. Stephen-Milltown. This manufacturing industry has always counted on a large supply of cheap labour, and the new industries which have been set up or planned (electronics, clothing, pressed wood boards) will not break the rule. People here are not "union minded".

Although the old-fashioned charm of the tree-shaded houses of St. Stephen-Milltown gives an impression of perfect security, it is here and not in the country that the main socio-economic problems of Charlotte are found. Industry was not capable of adapting itself to outside competition. This lack of adaptation showed itself in the closing of many factories and the dismissal of many employees. So one of the major problems at the moment is to try to find work for the large number of workers who became unemployed by the closing of the mills in Milltown. If to this number is added the labour freed by the closing of the railway workshops at McAdam, the result is the considerable figure of 1,800 workers who became underemployed or unemployed between 1955 and 1965. Relatively few of them have left the region and they find work as best they can.

Harsh facts emerge from an examination of the list of those seeking work in Charlotte: a third of the 2,142 people wanting jobs are in the 45 to 65 age group, and two-thirds of them are unskilled (80 per cent in the case of women). Wages are low and, oddly enough, it is the town wages which lower the county average: men - $2,328, women - $1,319 (1961). A quarter of the labour force earns less than $1,000 a year in Charlotte, and four-fifths earn less than $3,000. The average wage is barely two-thirds of the Canadian average. In St. Stephen in particular, the weekly rate varies between $30 and $50; the average for women is between $38 and $40 and for men between $43 and $45.

Charlotte County is a typically depressed region.[1] The period of greatest over-all prosperity was about 1850, and population reached its peak in 1881. Since then, lumbering, industry (except fish processing), commerce and transport have been declining. Sea transport ceased in the nineteenth century, and now railway lines are being closed. The tourist industry - a recent development - seems to be thriving and is bringing in an income of about $4.5 million for the inhabitants.

Apart from the population gathered in the coastal fishing and fish-processing centres, the rural population is small - about 1,600 people or 400 landowners. Half of them are identified with the "happy fellows". They pose a serious problem of adaptation to a production economy, and they irritate business men (some business men even call them "bums"). These "happy fellows", whose average age is 50, are incorrigible and we do not believe there is any reason to deter them. They are the result of a way of life which will probably die out with them; their life is backward and independent, and their various activities are dictated by the seasons and their need. They hunt and fish and act as guides to city people playing at being Nimrods. If financial needs are urgent enough, they cut a little wood on their land or work as lumberjacks and railway labourers.

Lumbering and agriculture, and the rural milieu in general, are no longer of great importance in Charlotte. The pioneering spirit of the New Englanders, who were always seeking new frontiers, has turned to industry; this is where the adult leadership is centred and it is from this that the community expects its economic rebirth to spring. Relative poverty - obviously marked - does not seem crushing, and the problems which people are experiencing at present seem to galvanize rather than to discourage them. The homogeneity and the quality of the settlement account for much of this positive attitude.

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[1] A depressed region is defined as one where the socio-economic level is clearly inferior to one or more levels which the region has previously known.

CHAPTER VI

FACTORS IN RURAL SCLEROSIS AND CRYSTALLIZATION OF TRADITION

The counties in this study are extreme examples of the basic general problems characterizing and handicapping the Maritime Provinces, a generally depressed area by comparison with the Canadian economy as a whole. The Maritime Provinces, where development started early, were already like "old countries" by comparison with the interior of the continent when their economic development first experienced setbacks at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. It was precisely the opening of these new territories and the attraction they exercised on men which first hindered the Maritimes by attracting European immigrants away from the Maritimes, and then drawing away the Maritimers themselves.

The truly harmful influences were politico-economic.[1] Thus, the mutual trade treaty with the United States (1854) was abolished in 1866 as a restrictive measure designed to protect the American market on behalf of domestic producers. Fish, timber and coal from the Maritimes, all products which had entered without hindrance up to then, were affected. England, for its part, abolished the preferential system which had been planned and applied to assist its colonies. This treaty benefited the Maritimes in trade with the West Indies (fish - rum and molasses) and the sale of timber - including white pine for the Royal Navy - to the British Isles. Finally, the Canadian protectionist program was put into effect in 1879. This program had grave consequences for the Maritimes, where producers now had to try to win markets within the country. Except for fish (difficult to transport) the regional products were not, however, really complementary, and overland transport was expensive.

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[1] We do not seriously believe that Confederation in 1867 in itself had harmful effects on the Maritimes. We are largely in agreement with the views expressed by the members of the Duncan Commission on the question: "The trend and nature of economic development generally throughout the last sixty years has made, within the Maritimes, changes in the structure of business and employment which are unrelated to Confederation, and which would have taken place whether or not the Maritime Provinces had been independent units outside of Confederation". (Government of Canada 1927).

According to the accepted classic formula, the period of prosperity in the Maritimes in the nineteenth century is called "an epoch of wood, wind and water". Technological evolution put an end to this epoch. At the same time as the unfavourable politico-economic measures listed above were taking place, steam and steel were rapidly replacing sailing ships and wood. The factor of speed and load capacity became decisive in serving the new trading circuits. Montreal thus had the advantage in serving the interior of the country, and the Atlantic ports soon were working for only a few months. In order to lower costs and save time, the inland regions of Canada also developed a link with the ocean through New England.

Mechanization and mass production were developing. Profit depended on skilled labour, power, large outlets for selling goods, the lowering of transport costs and proximity to markets. It was thus that large numbers of factories naturally grew up in the great inland urban zones. At one stroke, the Maritimes lost men, industries and the capital which had been confidently invested some years earlier, during the euphoric period of railway construction.

The financial situation of the governments of the East Coast provinces became bad, and the central government granted them a certain amount of capital. With the aid of this, the Intercolonial Railway was built (1876) on Canadian territory to correct the injustice of the "free movement of goods", but the rates were considerably increased during the period from 1912 to 1926. The Maritime Freight Act was promulgated in 1927, but this act encouraged the export of primary products! Moreover, the rates were finally to rise.

When the Royal Commission on Maritime Claims (Duncan Commission) was set up in 1926, the process of negative adjustment was already completed. The general turn of events had gone against the Maritimes. In addition to this, the continuing delay of the industrial production sector to adapt itself to competition and market conditions gave rise to a reservoir of surplus labour, which soon blunted the desire to obtain the maximum production per unit. "The ease of gaining entry to jobs in primary fishing, lumbering or marginal agriculture, or the possibility of doing a little of each, offered another chance of work to all those who did not have some money or a combination of youth, strength and training. These occupations encouraged a way of life which tends to continue spontaneously." (Government of Canada 1957).

This fundamental diagnosis has shown itself to be right and the Gordon Commission could state in 1956 that "one of the most striking features of the regional economy is the disproportionately large number of people working in marginal or submarginal activities in the Atlantic Provinces". (Government of Canada 1957) The observers stress that low productivity in fishing, agriculture and lumbering is connected with low personal income. Let us examine the types of bio-physical settings which the traditional ways of life have been able to survive.

BIO-PHYSICAL SETTINGS OF THE COASTAL REGIONS

Traditional ways of life, strong in sheltered settings, have found an ideal home in the counties we are studying; in these areas arable soil is scarce and the region is generally bordered by an ocean whose beauty makes one forget a little the isolation of those who live there. These are coastal regions and the shape of the coastline is of primary importance.

The inland regions are unattractive throughout: marshes, undergrowth and forest, or the plateau with its conifers. The soils have become podzols and the climate, cool and wet, acts differently on north and south.

This is a maritime country of peninsulas and islands oriented towards other maritime regions and towards the outside world in general. It is a country which stands apart from the integrated system of the continent, where roads and railways predominate. Here, the dependence upon waterways and the economic interest in the sea are basic to unity. But an important difference exists between the region comprising Kent, Kings and Inverness, turned towards the austere regions of the Gulf, and the region of Digby-Yarmouth and Charlotte, on the Bay of Fundy, aligned towards New England, to which they have sent large numbers of high-quality emigrants, and which has a complementary economy.

Kent is the least endowed of the first group of counties, being flat, isolated from the areas of activity and heavy settlement by forest, marshes and distance. The breakdown of the subsistence farming economy, due to poor soils, caused those men who did not emigrate to fall back on the sandy coast and make a living by catching lobster and doing some fishing of low commercial value. (Salmon is to be found in the north on the Miramichi.) The large commercial lumber mills ceased a long time ago.

The gently rolling country, fertile soils, and mild climate favoured agriculture in Kings, and the mixed forest was vigorous. Due to the shortage of men caused by emigration, efforts were concentrated in the most favourable areas, especially the south and south-east coast, and also the fertile inland areas interspersed with marshes or hills worn down by erosion. The large indentations of the estuaries favoured settlement and lobster fishing, which, after the depletion of the forest, became predominant along the entire coast. The north coast, being grim, has driven men to flee it. The present pattern of settlement is dominated by that austere and angular north and by the estuaries on the Northumberland Strait to the south.

In Inverness the people had at their disposal only a thin ribbon of undulating land squeezed between sea and mountain, the narrow Margaree valley and the area around Lake Ainslie. Agriculture could not prosper, and they had to turn to the sea. In general, the conifers on the plateau were not to be used until much later, when the demand for pulpwood grew.

Inverness represents isolation and modest resources amid an imposing landscape. Isolation is aggravated for the three northern counties also by a harsh winter with abundant snow and floating ice. This climate not only isolates but brings to a halt the activities of areas which are mainly geared to the development of natural resources.

Acid soils and marshes cause men to leave the interior of Digby-Yarmouth, but the Bay of Fundy and the open Atlantic offer abundant and varied fishing for the people, who had settled in a dense continuous ribbon along the coast. The clearly defined indentation of St. Mary's Bay continues by way of an unbroken shore as far as Yarmouth. The coastline then breaks up into an extraordinary landscape of narrow jagged peninsulas and islands. Arable soil is out of the question, and the severe and desolate landscape is a foretaste of Shelburne. The forest provides the raw materials for boatbuilding and sawmills, and a little farming is practicable, interspersed among the fishermen's houses. Summer fog is a secondary disadvantage in comparison with the winter ice which hits the northern counties. The climate is moderate, the growing season is long and the sea is navigable during the entire year. There is thus only a short break in the work of the men.

The submersion of the coast is also a feature of Charlotte, where the island-congested peninsulas are washed by powerful tides that stir the well-stocked waters. This is why men have remained on the coast and on the large islands since the beginning of settlement. The sea is always generous but this cannot be said of the misused forest, which has lost its most valuable timber stands, since replaced by varieties which are mainly used for pulpwood. Apart from the timber, an inland region of rough rocky hills and of barely fertile soils is of no interest to man. Charlotte, isolated in a forest is also the gateway to New England.

Thus, in the main, the factors of location, climate and the marine wealth of the water around their coasts contribute greatly to the marked difference between the northern and southern counties of the Maritimes, to the advantage of the southern counties.

By employing a kind of regionalization, it is possible to group counties from each of the two sectors. In this way one can group Northumberland, Gloucester and Restigouche, which are quite similar. These counties, mainly peopled by Acadians, make up one unproductive zone. The same applies for the Cape Breton Island counties (except the urban and mining sector): this is the northern Land's End of the Maritimes, facing the Gulf and the cold waters of the Atlantic. On Prince Edward Island, the counties of Kings and Prince, occupying the ends of the Island, are also similar to each other, although marshes are more prevalent in Prince, than hills and forests are in Kings.

In the south-west of Nova Scotia, the uniformity of Digby and Yarmouth seemed so great, from the start, that both counties have been dealt with as one; the bio-physical and settlement factors confirm this unity. In the north we have the farming country of Annapolis, whereas towards the open coast of the Atlantic there is another type of countryside. And this is why, it seems, the Shelburne-Queens-Lunenburg trio should be dealt with as a unit. But on the fringe of the continent, Charlotte appears as a special case, and this is how it should be approached.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT IN TERMS OF HUMAN ACTIVITY

Since the beginning of human settlement, fishing, agriculture and lumbering have been the major features of the development of natural resources in the counties under survey. The mining industry is hardly worth mentioning, since it is made up of periodic exploitation of peat, gypsum and coal. The latter two minerals are mined mainly in Inverness. From the point of view of ways of life, it is to fishing, which occupies a great number of men, that we shall give most of our attention.

Fishing

It was fishing which first drew men to the Atlantic coast; fishing still occupies many men. For centuries fish drying and pickling, mainly cod, was carried on with the people of the West Indies.

Then, during the twenties, the use of refrigerator cars and the building of factories revolutionized processing and facilitated the conquest of new markets. Blocks and fillets of frozen fish have gradually replaced the traditional products in the large urban markets of North America.

The abundance, diversity, quality and regularity of supplies became all-important. The building of mass production factories and the utilization of powerful boats had to become general. This evolution required technological improvement, investments and mergers. Competition has been high since the second World War and there is no room left in a new market economy for small-scale industry.

Proskie has exposed the problem of the fishermen in small fishing boats, who are handicapped through fishing a narrow range of species and by their landings (80 per cent) being concentrated within a three months' season (Proskie 1961). But, for traditional fishermen, the way of life takes precedence over the standard of living. Individualism is the rule, and a good number of the men wrap themselves up in proud isolation. Their average age is somewhere between 45 and 50. They know that they are the last of their kind. Small-scale fishing will perhaps die out with them. Their net annual income often does not exceed $2,000. This phenomenon is characteristic of parts of the coast of Kent, Inverness and Digby, at least, where inshore fishing is limited to species of low commercial value, such as cod, herring, and mackerel (3 to 4 cents per pound for Gulf cod during the spring of 1965).

Lobster provides a living wage for a good number of fishermen, and it is to be found along most of the coastline of the counties we are studying. It is actually the main kind of fishing done in Kent and in Kings. Technology is not yet ready to transform the traditional small-scale techniques of lobster fishing (Proskie 1961). Depending upon the marine life on the sea bottom and some other considerations, the time and length of the permissible fishing periods vary from one sector to another. (Kent - August 10 to October 10, Digby - December 1 to May 31.) Relatively high returns are obtained in a short time, and prices have doubled since 1961 (from 30 to 62 cents). The fishing-boats are manned by one or two men, and the gross individual income varies between $3,000 and $5,000. Operating costs are high and are calculated to be 30, 35 and even 50 per cent of the gross return, depending upon the area and the informant. The number of fishermen is increasing, but not the volume of catches. Buyers engage in fierce competition and try to outbid each other. (A powerful move towards a monopoly of lobster marketing is in progress in the Maritimes.) According to observers, the number of licences should be temporarily frozen.

Some fishermen put to sea only for the lobster fishing period, whereas others fish for low-value species before and after the lobster season. According to them, this ensures a "salary". In Kent and Kings the activity of a good number of fishermen is limited to a two-month lobster season. (The same situation probably exists in other counties.) If a period of two to three months is added to the fishing period proper for the upkeep and repair of the fishing boat and tackle, this leaves an impressive number of wasted months. Unemployment insurance is drawn during the winter.

As mentioned previously, a certain number of fishermen stretch out the season by fishing for species of low commercial value. Others, said to be the best fishermen, have a complementary job: they work as longshoremen in the winter port of Saint John (those from Kent), or grow potatoes (those from Kings). But the Gulf coast is not generous in comparison with the waters of the Bay of Fundy, where men live in a true partnership with the sea: Irish moss, seaweed, clams, scallops, lobster, herring, swordfish, tuna, whale (Digby-Yarmouth). Employment depends, there as elsewhere, upon the utilization of an abundant labour force which is satisfied with a low income (except for lobster).

The revival of scallop fishing, thanks to the building of a large fleet which dredges the ocean bottom off the coast of Virginia, is worth recalling. Annual net returns of from $4,500 to $6,000 are thus ensured for nearly 200 fishermen, the majority of whom are less than 40 years old.

If the situation of small fishermen is not good as a whole, it should nonetheless be emphasized that there is, in comparison with former periods, definite progress: problems which arose from markets, bad organization and the exploitation of fishermen. (Let us remember the harmful role played by the merchants in Richibuctou Village and Chéticamp.) The co-operative formula is largely responsible for existing improvements, and there is good reason here to recall the patient and efficient work of what has been called the Antigonish Movement (Coady 1939, 1943). The United Maritime Fishermen today controls a large part of the catches for the benefit of the small, local co-operative members. It has arranged for setting up factories, equal in every respect, to privately owned factories.

The fishing and processing industry, both co-operative and private, receives powerful backing through technical and financial aid from government. The latter builds fishing ports, facilitates navigation and gives generous grants for the construction of factories and ships. In Chéticamp, government aid is now making it possible to double the output of the factory, and a fish supply connection will be established with Louisbourg during the winter in order to counter the drawbacks of seasonal work. Here, as elsewhere, things are largely geared to an insatiable American market. Fishing boats are increasingly becoming the property of the factories. These powerful boats ensure an adequate volume of raw materials, but the income of the crews is not high. A trawler captain from Souris told us he only made $1,500 to $2,000 net per year, with a catch of one million pounds. (This low level of income is exceptional, and it would be interesting to know the technical reasons behind it.)

But in other areas, well informed sources indicate the following average annual incomes for trawler crews: captain, $10,000; mate, $4,000; engineer, $5,000; fisherman-seaman, $3,000. In Chéticamp, on fishing boats doing Danish seining (plaice), the income of the fishermen does not exceed that of traditional inshore fishermen; most people would therefore earn less than $3,000. Fishing is modernized, the market is satisfied, but the lot of crew members has not been greatly improved.

Let us look at factory work. All the unskilled are funneled into it: men ("day labourers"), wives, widows, adolescents, old people; ages vary from 15 to 65. It is also a type of family employment, since three, four or five members of the same family work in the factory. Manpower is even picked up in villages and in the country. Working hours are long (a problem which is hard to avoid), social security is practically nil, and incomes are low.

The average hourly wage is 65 cents for women and $1 for men. The working week varies from 45 to 50 hours, and weekly wages average from $29.25 to $32.50 (women) and from $45 to $50 (men). The working period in the factory varies from six to eight months, representing an average annual income of $771.75 to $1,018.71 (women) and $1,187.50 to $1,567.50 (men). These data are for Cap Lumière, Souris, Chéticamp, Saulnierville and Yarmouth. There is one noteworthy exception, namely the sardine processing factories in Charlotte, where women earn an average of $3,500 per year. It must be pointed out, though, that the working period is longer (50 to 55 hours per week for a nine month season). The income of men paid by the hour appears to be lower there than that of the women, namely $2,886. The average is from $1.50 to $1.75 per hour for the same period. A good number of male workers, however, are paid on a weekly basis ($70 to $100) and employed throughout the year, meaning an actual income of $3,640 to $5,200.

Fishing as an industry is the driving force in the counties under survey, not so much because it raises the level of salaries, but because it maintains and increases a considerable number of jobs in the sector of fishing itself, factory work, boatbuilding, commerce and transportation. It is the ideal activity in an area which is otherwise relatively destitute, except in men. The various governments have shown that they have understood this through the establishment of subsidies for the construction of factories, ships and ports. These subsidies made possible the building of a scallop fishing fleet at Clare, and the organization of the ingenious complex in Georgetown (Kings), where boatbuilding and fish processing are associated, the entire production being for the European market. The fishing industry is doing well, but can the same be said of the men?

Forestry

Forestry has played a fundamental economic role on land similar to that of fishing on the ocean. Forest is the natural cover for the Maritimes. It is the mixed Acadian forest with its valuable deciduous trees (maple, elm, beech) and its conifers (red spruce, white spruce, white pine, and balsam fir). In the counties under survey its role was foremost during the nineteenth century. The preparation of lumber for export and boatbuilding dominated the logging and sawmilling industries. For those areas geared to international maritime commerce, shipbuilding was essential. Sailing ships, including the famous Bluenose class, were justly famous. They were used mainly to transport lumber and white pine masts to an insatiable United Kingdom.

But during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the politico-economic and technological changes which took place altered the picture and dealt the forest economy severe blows. Since then, the pulp and paper industry has gradually become the mainspring, a role previously held by the sawmills, and quite recently, boatbuilding has shown a certain upsurge thanks to the construction of fishing-boats financed by the government. Some sawmilling still exists and boxes and laths are also manufactured, these being goods which do not require wood of a superior quality.

The spread of populated areas and the heavy toll taken of the best timber stands have reduced the forested areas considerably. The composition of timber stands has also been upset, and a good number of the best varieties have been replaced by those of inferior quality, even by brush. Several areas suffer from a lack of forest development. The municipality of Clare is a notable exception, but this negative picture is valid for the counties as a whole.

The counties which are worst off are naturally those where the most wood was cut, Kent and Charlotte in particular.

Kent has not recovered and Charlotte has taken a different course. In Kings, fishing and agriculture were available. The situation was never as critical in Digby-Yarmouth, or Inverness, where the conifers of the plateau had to await the demand of the paper industry. At present, wood-cutting is largely controlled by this industry, and Inverness and Charlotte are the counties principally concerned. We shall spend some time on the human problems of these two counties.

Cutting is done simultaneously on farm woodlots, Crown concessions and large forest properties. In Inverness-North the conifers of the plateau supply the new pulp mill located at Point Tupper on the Canso Strait. Charlotte supplies the St. Croix Paper Co. (Woodstock, Maine) and the pulp and paper mill at St. George.

Local lumberjacks are not in sufficient numbers to ensure the necessary volume of wood to supply the pulp mills. Labour has to be imported from northern New Brunswick, Quebec and even from Newfoundland. The productivity of local lumberjacks is low and their reputation as workers is bad. Lumbering does not appear, moreover, to be held in high esteem according to the scale of values of the local people. There is no doubt about earnings being low. In Inverness-North the cutting season amounts to less than seven months and the annual net incomes of the local lumberjacks do not exceed $2,000. The "imported" lumberjacks, whose productivity is higher, naturally have better incomes.

The cutting period is much longer in Charlotte (nine months) and incomes are extremely variable. The gradation goes from $2,160 (36 weeks at $60) to $6,480 (36 weeks at $180). This wide spread is largely due to a bonus system, which mainly benefits the "imported" lumberjacks, as the reputation of the lumberjacks of Charlotte is even worse than that of Inverness-North. A basic problem for the lumberjacks is the purchasing and maintenance costs of the chain saw. These represent an expense of about $525 per year (128 cutting days x $3.50 - writing off of purchase price in 3 years, $75 x 3).

Until recently, the lumberjacks' living conditions were abject. The situation appears to have been improved in Charlotte, and among a certain number of important jobbers in Inverness-North. Living conditions remain scandalous, however, in the majority of small jobbers' camps in the latter county. Social improvement by the Nova Scotia government seems to be very limited here.

Something should also be said about working conditions. It would seem that official scalers do not yet have jurisdiction over all lumbering operations. It is easy to see what abuses this can lead to within a badly organized labour force. On the whole, we do not hesitate to say that the lumberjacks of Inverness-North form a miserable sub-proletariat.

The problem of owners of small woodlots, who are hampered by the low prices paid by the paper industry for pulpwood, is also thorny. In Charlotte, in particular, the price of wood delivered at the roadside is $12 to $13 per cord. The small producers of this county (300) have recently succeeded in setting up an association with a view to defending their interests. After several years of effort a similar operation has been carried through with success in Inverness-North (150 producers) and plans are even being made for setting up a marketing body for pulpwood. It is worth mentioning that there is no fixed minimum price for the sale of pulpwood in Nova Scotia. Observers interpret the apathy of the government towards the painful efforts of the small producers as support for the private companies.

The fact that we are stressing the socio-economic problems of manpower in Charlotte and Inverness-North does not mean that the other counties are free of problems. Furthermore, among other problems, there is good reason to make a few comments on the sawing and wood manufacturing industry. This sector is relatively important and we can illustrate it here through the activities of the municipality of Clare.

Pulpwood cutting is secondary in Clare; lumber is needed to supply the shipbuilding and wood manufacturing industries. The Acadians in this area make up a hard-working labour force, known for its ability in woodworking. Well supplied by the timber stands of the interior, they have been able to set up some 20 construction yards for fishing boats, some 10 factories of varying kinds, and, above all, the large shipyards in Meteghan. This industry was boosted during the war in order to meet military needs (800 men in Meteghan and Weymouth during the war years). Operation on a reduced scale started again in the fifties and has continued since then.

The shipyards are working to full capacity, but salaries are low: $1 to $1.20 per hour for a 44-hour week, giving an annual income varying from $2,288 to $2,745. This is the average salary of the wood industry of the region. For example, an important manufacturing plant of wooden boxes in Digby pays its male labour an annual income varying between $2,030 (85 cents per hour) and $3,141 ($1.35 per hour). Prior to the enactment of the minimum wage law it appears that an hourly wage of 65 cents was paid.

Competition is stiff for the lumber industry and for the manufacture of wooden articles. Besides, this sector of activity shows little life in the counties under survey. It is the pulpwood industry which has taken over, and being interested in having a massive supply of raw wood, it naturally does not operate at the county level. A significant fact is that the forest appears to have little attraction for the local people.

Agriculture

Agriculture in the counties under survey has the classical negative characteristics of the family farm of Eastern Canada: small area, subsistence economy, problem of purchasing production necessities due to rising costs, excessive mechanization, indebtedness and difficulty in obtaining loans, advanced age of the farmers, "rejection" of change.

In the main, agriculture has never been more than a secondary occupation in the economy of the counties. The established pattern was as follows: deforestation, occupation of the land, raising of large families, and then falling back on more profitable occupations. This agriculture is now reduced to its most simple terms, although the statistics continue to be excessive. Thus the 1961 Census indicated 559 farms of "three acres and above" in Digby. In fact, there are 44 farmers and 80 mixed farmers.

Successful farmers grow potatoes, pick blueberries, raise livestock for meat or supply milk and cream to the towns. (The 150 dairy farms in Yarmouth are nearly all located within a 15-mile radius of the town itself.) Only the County of Kings, which has been developed agriculturally, favours continuous use of the soils, and this is true both for large coastal areas and for a good part of the interior. The terrain, soils and climate are favourable to agriculture, which is sufficiently profitable and attractive to ensure continuity. The attractions of speculation and integration with the market economy do the rest. Equipment is up-to-date and the yield is increasing.

There is no need to dwell on the agricultural situation in Inverness-North and Charlotte: there, the arable soil is in a narrow strip of undulating land, generally parallel to the coast. And even there, one has to put aside long-range solutions. There are a few cows and some sheep in Inverness-North (including the large community pasture of the Acadians on Chéticamp Island) and 35 dairy farms in Charlotte, where the situation is somewhat improved by the growing of blueberries (reportedly 140 farms). There is also a strip of land in Digby, but the soil of this strip and the climate favour a relative diversity, taking into account the small number of farmers. These make a good living.

Although the relatively flat interior of Kent has been cleared of trees, agriculture has not been able to hold its own on account of poor soil. It has not been able to hold its own, either, on the hills between the rivers, and is now found only in the low river valleys. The incomes of those practising subsistence farming in Kent and in other neighbouring counties vary from $1,500 to $2,000, and other work done off the farm by these farmers often takes up half the year.

The real struggle is perhaps experienced by those who, nonetheless, try the impossible. Settled in an unproductive territory, they try to make a success of their farms without being integrated with the market economy. They sometimes end by expressing their impotence: "There is no room for small farmers in the market economy." Under the best conditions their gross income does not exceed $3,000 per year, which includes from $1,200 to $1,400 in produce consumed. If they were transposed into the truly agricultural areas of Kings, for instance (there is still room) these farmers would undoubtedly become affluent. Their present predicament is largely due to a bad geographical location. The other side of the picture is the proliferation of "happy fellows", whom we described to a certain extent in the chapter dealing with Charlotte; they are also found in all the other counties. They are rustics whose life is balanced between the ancestral house (or the patched-up cabin), fishing and hunting, the occasional bit of work on the outside, and government allowances. The "statistical" farm of "three or more acres" supports a good number of them.

With the exception of Kings, agriculture has ceased to be an important factor for the counties under survey. It mainly provides a place to live, which supports and recreates the owner. A few active producers occupy the rare good coastal lands and carry on a profitable business supplying the local urban market, but it is useless to hope for a rebirth of agriculture in an unproductive and deserted area which is also poorly served by the farming structure.

Forestry is no longer a major factor either. The size and quality of timber stands are reduced and the emphasis is on pulpwood. Only fishing has preserved and increased its economic importance; it supplies man with food and has been able to adjust itself to meet the requirements of a large and demanding urban market. But fishing is kept afloat mainly by government subsidies. This failure to support itself is all the more significant in view of the fact that the consumer market is, for its part, insatiable. Naturally, this unprofitableness is less true of lobster than of species of low commercial value.

Finally, where the development of natural resources as a whole is concerned, production and manufacturing are characterized by the large amount of manpower needed and by an extremely low level of income.

MANPOWER: STRUCTURE, INCOME AND PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT

The division of the labour force into primary, secondary and tertiary, although arbitrary, gives useful indications of the structure of occupations, provided that there is a combined use of the data given by the industrial and professional sectors (Table 17).

The data given by the industrial sector (the so-called "activity" branch) illustrate the extraordinary importance of the tertiary level. The Digby-Yarmouth area, which stands out from the other counties, has the highest percentages: two relatively important towns, dense population, commerce and well-developed services explain the situation. A similar description applies to Charlotte, where commerce and services form a framework for an important processing industry. Also, this is the county which leads in the secondary level; the other counties are less well off. With regard to the primary level, the counties act in two blocks. The three northern counties, whose activity falls more within the framework of traditional ways of life, show the largest labour force at the primary level. The situation is diametrically opposite in the southern counties due to greater industrialization and urbanization.

TABLE 17 - PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MANPOWER - 1961
(INDUSTRIAL SECTOR) IN SURVEY COUNTIES

County	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Kent	37.4	21.7	40.9
Kings	48.0	19.0	33.0
Inverness	36.5	17.5	46.0
Digby	22.0	25.1	52.0
Yarmouth	18.0	27.3	54.7
Charlotte	19.0	33.4	47.6

The presentation of data for the professional sector throws added light on the structure of the labour force (Table 18). With the help of this data it is possible to divide the population into two major classes: the tertiary (administrators, professionals, bureaucrats, etc.) and production. Persons engaged in actual processing (skilled workers and labourers) can also be removed from the production class.

Notice at once that the tertiary is average in those counties which are centred upon primary activities, but considerable in the more urbanized and industrialized counties. It must be emphasized that the differences between the counties are not great in respect to the manpower specifically engaged in industrial processing. The most marked differences are in the tertiary - production relationship. Fishing, agriculture and lumbering in Kent, Kings and Inverness call upon the services of a small tertiary class in lightly urbanized areas. Finally, the key role of Yarmouth in the Digby-Yarmouth-Shelburne segment stands out.

TABLE 18 - PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MANPOWER - 1961
(PROFESSIONAL SECTOR) IN SURVEY COUNTIES

County	Tertiary	Production	Industrial Processing
Kent	32.5	67.5	22.4
Kings	28.3	71.7	17.7
Inverness	27.3	62.7	17.9
Digby	42.2	57.8	24.6
Yarmouth	52.2	47.8	23.2
Charlotte	43.7	56.3	26.7

Data on the average annual income of wage-earners, the salary levels and the period of employment can be linked in a useful manner to the occupational structure. The first factor to emphasize is the disparity of income between men and women (Table 19). This disparity sometimes occurs on a two-to-one basis in favour of men, but women often hold a relatively high number of jobs throughout the year: teachers, office and shop employees, etc. In factories, we have noted a difference of from 15 per cent to 30 per cent in salaries paid for similar work, at the expense of female labour. Charlotte is a notable exception.

With regard to the men, there is a disparity of levels: Charlotte is in the lead, Yarmouth is not far behind, and Kent and Kings are, as a whole, the two counties which are the worst off. In general, more than 50 per cent of the wage-earning manpower is paid less than $3,000. The residual 20 per cent falls mainly between $3,000 and $6,000 as only 1 per cent of the wage-earners draws an income higher than the latter amount.

The interrelationship between the incomes and the employment period for those counties mainly based upon primary-level employment is readily seen; Kent, Kings and Inverness. In those three counties, more than 30 per cent of wage-earning

TABLE 19 - DATA ON WAGE-EARNING MANPOWER IN SURVEY COUNTIES (JUNE 1, 1960 TO MAY 31, 1961)

County	Average income: men	women	Income below $3,000	Employment period: Under 27 weeks	Under 40 weeks
	$		%	%	
Kent	1,559	872	88.3	48.0	64.1
Kings	939	794	91.0	39.5	59.5
Inverness	2,037	1,144	80.0	33.5	50.6
Digby	1,931	1,204	80.0	24.2	42.3
Yarmouth	2,281	1,253	75.8	19.0	30.3
Charlotte	2,328	1,882	79.0	21.0	36.3

manpower works less than 27 weeks per year. The previously indicated contrast with regard to the seasonal nature of work is apparent here, whereas the three southern counties have a long employment period. In Yarmouth and Charlotte in particular, 70 per cent and 64 per cent respectively of the labour force work for more than 40 weeks (36 per cent in Kent). It is necessary then to call upon the services of the important tertiary class of the southern counties to ensure employment of permanent nature.

In the main, this statistical approach to wage-earning manpower justifies and corroborates the data gathered in the field with regard to the income of factory workers (wood factories, fish-processing factories, etc.). It also completes the data regarding the income of fishermen, lumberjacks and farmers; incomes which define the general situation: working-class poverty.[1]

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[1] We strongly regret that we have not been able to obtain precise data on the qualifications of the manpower. These data are essential to outline the various problems properly.

POVERTY AND EMIGRATION

These masses of men with generally and permanently low income lead us towards the central phenomenon of a working-class poverty: primary-level workers, processing workers, tertiary-level workers. We know that the causes of this poverty are deep-seated and lasting, since they are tied into the nature of the area within the framework of the market economy. It is an area which is totally handicapped, and where the number of men offsets the low technological level, a phenomenon which was clearly noted by the Duncan and Gordon commissions, which were 35 years apart. This is the fundamental depressing factor: in spite of work which is frequently exhausting and which has long hours, incomes are indecently low.

The "social standard" dimension of poverty (the outside judgment) is, however, of greater importance than the "felt poverty" dimension for the workers. This is so because there is a social equality in poverty, when this poverty is experienced in a bio-physical setting which is generally loved and has been inhabited for several generations. A level of income which would bring about unacceptable living conditions in a large agglomeration is made bearable here by several factors: social cohesion and the absence of social classes, mutual aid at the level of the local community, the modesty of aspirations and needs, and the role of welfare allowances. Several families also own a house and a patch of ground.

A good number of the local people identify poverty with exceptional cases: the physically and mentally infirm, alcoholics, widows, and "unfortunates". Poverty is even interpreted as an accidental and exceptional phenomenon. Also, the real social disintegration is found only in isolated pockets along the coast (Claire-Fontaine in Kent) or inland (Dog Patch and Brownstown on Prince Edward Island).

Inferior living conditions (though real on a comparative level) are not felt too much because the external points of comparison are generally distant, and also because certain factors connected with material progress, which are already integrated into the life of other areas, have only just been acquired in the rural sectors of most of the counties: paved roads, telephone, electricity. Moreover, comparisons are made perhaps not so much with the large prosperous regions of Canada as with the Maritimes as a whole, where the living standard is naturally lower. We believe that these various factors, in addition to the often welcome winter rest due to seasonal unemployment, largely reduce the feeling of poverty for the local inhabitants. Looking at it from the exterior, however, we judge poverty as such.

There are others who also judge it thus, and they are the ones who emigrate: a large part of the emigrant stock normally has at its disposal the same living conditions as those who remain behind, but they reject these conditions. They reject them because their needs are no longer in harmony with the amenities and satisfactions offered by the local milieu. This is due to the fact that they have become conscious of the differences in living standards and conditions which separate them from the large urban and industrial regions. (It is the union of felt poverty and poverty defined according to social standards.) The emigrants also reject the local living conditions because they are still free to do so (bachelors and young couples). Having the advantages of a much more advanced schooling than their parents had, the young people grew up at the same time that mass media were establishing their influence. Submissiveness and acceptance of the local living conditions are not good enough for them. Thus, they leave.

Since the 1860's, the simple fact of the creation and the development of living milieus which are more favourable to prosperity than the Maritimes has caused immigrants to settle elsewhere, and has also drained away part of the local population. In an economy which, after economic and technological upheavals, maintained its momentum for a few more decades, the departures must have been mainly from among the demographic "surplus" of a population which was still young and vigorous. But, later on, the situation as a whole did not improve, and emigration attacked the mass of the population at its foundations, notably diminishing the over-all stock and systematically draining away the 20-year-olds. This is when the inhabited area, the territory which until then had been mainly agricultural, was drained of its substance. The drainage now operates in terms of the degree of mobility of people.

As an illustration, let us recall that the well-integrated sector of St-Joseph - Chéticamp (Inverness-North) alone lost from 500 to 600 inhabitants out of a total of 3,600, during the 1960 to 1965 period; 70 to 75 families were involved. In apparently healthy parishes like Cocagne (Kent) the majority of weddings involve former parishioners who return for the ceremony. Elsewhere it is mentioned that recent births are "tail ends of families", i.e., children born to mature couples.

The age pyramid in each county shows wide gaps and a narrowing at the level of the 20-39 year old groups. In some counties shrinkage has even been noted at the base (0-4 and 5-9 years). Finally, a large apex (60 years and over) dominates the pyramids. This shows the negative side of emigration; the departure of young couples and their children, the departure of the 20-year-olds, and the drop in the birth rate due to the departure of the procreators. The older persons who have remained behind (mainly people carrying on a traditional way of life and whose average age is 45-50 years) are joined in old age (60 and over) by those people who emigrated in their youth and later returned to spend their retirement in their birthplace.

The departure of young adults considerably increases the burden of responsibilities of persons of an active age

(Table 20). (As mentioned before, we have established the active period as between the years 15 and 64 for the counties of a rural nature, which are areas with a simple economy.) With regard to Kent, it will be noted that there is a strong dependence in terms of the number of young people and for Kings a strong dependence in terms of the number of old people, these two counties having the highest rates of dependence. Kent and Charlotte are also opposites with regard to dependence. Within different geographical milieus, the remarkable similarity of the rates of dependence of Inverness and of the three southern counties (44 to 45) should also be noted.

TABLE 20 - WEIGHT OF DEPENDENCE BY AGE GROUPS 15-64
IN SURVEY COUNTIES (1961)

County	Persons of active age	Dependents total	Dependents 0-14	Dependents 65 or over
	percentage of total population			
Kent	49.4	50.6	42.1	8.5
Kings	50.6	49.4	35.5	13.9
Inverness	56.0	44.0	36.0	8.0
Digby	55.0	45.0	33.6	11.4
Yarmouth	55.0	45.0	34.4	10.6
Charlotte	54.6	45.4	31.5	12.9

The analysis of the weight of dependence according to the "persons of active age" factor, although interesting, is nonetheless insufficient to give a proper picture of the situation. It is essential to relate manpower (working population) and the total population. This relationship indicates that the population of the counties is supported by three-tenths of their numbers. Only in Kent is there a serious departure from this average, and it lags behind with 24.8 per cent: in this case, each worker ensures the survival of five persons (Table 21).

More than three-quarters of the manpower is male. Industry and the tertiary class in Yarmouth and in Charlotte lower this average somewhat, but the picture in the four other counties is similar and, there, female workers only account for about 20 per cent. The employment rates of manpower according to sex and age groups are still more revealing; the female population of active age is underemployed. This is easily understood in predominantly rural counties.

Marked variations are recorded from one county to another, for men as well as for women. The variation stands at 10.1 per cent for women (Digby 21.3 - Charlotte 31.4) and at 13.6 per cent for men (Kent 75.2 - Kings 88.8). Underemployment is true not only of women, and four counties out of six have at least 20 per cent of their male labour force (15 - 64 years) theoretically unemployed; the infirm and the prematurely aged must naturally be taken into account.

TABLE 21 - WEIGHT OF DEPENDENCE ON MANPOWER; SEXES AND AGES - DATA EXPRESSED AS PERCENTACES - SURVEY COUNTIES

County	Working Males/ Total Population	Working Females/ Total Manpower	Working Males/ Ages 15-64	Working Females/ Ages 15-64
Kent	24.8	21.4	75.2	22.6
Kings	31.1	19.5	88.8	25.8
Inverness	29.1	20.6	80.7	25.3
Digby	28.3	20.2	80.1	21.3
Yarmouth	28.9	25.0	78.9	26.2
Charlotte	32.7	27.1	85.2	31.4

Finally, there is good reason to point out that if the survival of the population depends upon barely 30 per cent of that population, unemployment further seriously aggravates the situation, since 45 per cent of the wage-earners in the survey counties (11,243 out of 24,784) are condemned to inactivity during a period of at least three months a year. The percentage of primary workers is higher still, and the period of inactivity longer. (A good many of these, fishermen and farmers, are self-employed.) The percentage indicated above (30 per cent) thus remains short of the truth. Strictly speaking, this figure should be reduced by between 5 and 10, that is to 25 per cent or even 20 per cent, to discover the actual weight of the load. Hence, few producers remain.

Adults leave their area ostensibly to pay off a debt or to pay for the purchase of a tractor or a fishing-boat, but in general they do not return. New England has always been favoured by emigrants from the survey counties. At the present time a preference is shown for such centres as Waltham, Gardner, Worcester, Leominster (Mass.), and Hartford (Conn.). Some preference is also shown for Toronto and Ontario (the car industry). Montreal is definitely not the favourite, and this is true even for the Acadians; they prefer Toronto to the metropolis of the St. Lawrence. In New England (in most of the centres listed above) the Acadians find French-speaking Roman Catholic parishes. This is a transposition and perpetuation of the phenomenon of the reception structures for French Canadian workers in the textile towns of New England at the end of the last century.

The emigrants take on work as gas pump attendants, labourers, carpenters, clerks and truck drivers. The girls take up teaching and domestic work. In general, the work is strenuous and the hours are long. Some emigrants even do moonlighting. Although the emigrants do not like the city, they want cars, weekly pay cheques and paid holidays. They are "homey types", and during the summer flock back as vacationers to their native parish. These vacationers tend to draw away those who have remained behind in their traditional occupations, by plainly showing them the differences between their standards of living. It is not difficult to recruit those that are suitable and, with the exception of a few farmers and other workers engaged in traditional occupations, it would appear that parents are in favour of the departure of the young people. It will be noted that the interior of the counties has been drained all the more easily because on the whole, there are no anchoring points, no villages and no small market-towns; only a few hamlets.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the temporary and seasonal emigration of part of the working population engaged in traditional occupations. Thus, during the winter, some fishermen from Kent work as longshoremen in the port of Saint John. There is also a demand for Acadians from Digby and Yarmouth for the large development projects being carried out in eastern Canada, including the recent construction of radar station networks.

A fundamental statistical survey of migratory movements of the population of the Atlantic Provinces, indicates that each of the provinces has had a negative migratory balance for each decade since 1881 (with the exception of Nova Scotia for the 1931-41 decade). French Canadians (i.e., Acadians) are more mobile than English Canadians, this being due to the education and social advantages of the latter group (Levitt 1962).

In our opinion this theory could be interpreted in the following manner. English Canadians had to move earlier in order to follow industry and commerce, which were the main preoccupations of their ethnic group; a generally lower birthrate has naturally led to a proportionally smaller migratory movement among them than among the Acadians. Also, emigration was (and still is) heavier in rural areas with traditional ways of life, and in these areas Acadians are more numerous. Seven-eighths of the emigrants come from rural areas, and that emigration is a function of urbanization and the transfer from agriculture and fishing to industry and tertiary-level occupations (Levitt 1962).

ETHNIC GROUPS AND DIFFERENT BEHAVIOUR

The attitudes and behaviour of the people who make up the population of the survey counties toward poverty and the problems of development normally differ according to the ethnic group and the various geographical areas. These groups are mainly Acadians, Scots and New Englanders (including the Loyalists).

The Acadians form a relatively monolithic block. Shaped by their language and their religion, they have a communal spirit and are used to facing adversity together; the memory of the difficult years has been preserved.

Attachment to the milieu and to traditional ways of life is an established fact among them. They are jovial and hospitable. Acadians possess great manual ability (particularly for carpentry and shipbuilding). They are well known as tenacious and hard workers.

It is well to point out the differences in behaviour of the Acadians in Kent, Kings, Inverness-North and Digby. In Kent they settled gradually in an impoverished area, which was already occupied by people of British stock, who held the wood industry and the small commercial towns firmly within their hands. The Acadians fell back upon primary occupations; they have remained poor. In Kings County the Acadian settlement was split up. They were the pariahs of Prince Edward Island. Badly received at the start, poorly organized owing to a numerically weak clergy, neglected by the government, they have been virtually assimilated

Things are different in Inverness-North and Digby. In these two counties, and particularly in the municipality of Clare, the provincial government greatly facilitated the settlement of Acadians by land concessions. They occupied the entire territory granted to them, thus preventing other ethnic groups from settling there. In Chéticamp, as in Clare, maritime trade was taken up, thus establishing links with the West Indies and South America. Prosperity was greater in the second area because good use was made of the general advantages of its location on the Bay of Fundy: its strategic situation, waters rich in fish and prime forest. The Acadians took advantage of the many potentialities of the area and among the survey counties Digby is presently the one where they are, on the whole, the best integrated and the least impoverished by change.

While the Acadians make up nearly the entire French Canadian group, diversity is greater in the English Canadian group, where the descendants of the British pioneers are divided into English, Scots, Irish and New Englanders. The English, who were less numerous than the other groups in the survey counties, did not remain long in the impoverished sectors. Hence, their role now appears to have ceased.

The Scots are the pioneers of the infertile areas. Coming from impoverished regions, they were relocated mainly in similar areas. They formed a rural sub-proletariat in the Highlands; dislodged and herded on board sailing ships, they were then thrown onto the Atlantic coast, without financial resources and without any particular skills. Knowing nothing about fishing, and being also poor farmers, they isolated themselves in the interior of Cape Breton Island, earning a bare subsistence, with their backs turned to the sea. Emigration has been an important hypodermic. The livelier elements have emigrated,and resignation and individualism now characterize those who are left. They live an archaic way of life with a low standard of living.

But, as we know, the behaviour of the Scots was different when, by chance, they were integrated into the market economy on the mainland; in the north-east of Nova Scotia, for instance, where they farm profitably. The Scots took up farming also on Prince Edward Island. Although successful, it was only temporary, and they have since abandoned a good part of the interior of Kings. It would appear that the Irish, whose conditions of departure from their native land and of settlement are similar to those of the Scots, behaved in the same manner, but we were not able to verify this.

In the main, it was the New Englanders who contributed in the most dynamic and efficient way to development. They were not changing their bio-physical setting by crossing a frontier and landing, particularly, in Charlotte. They were familiar with the problems of development which existed, and their main objectives of material well-being and profit-making were backed by their courage and physical vigour. These favourable characteristics were further accentuated among the Loyalists, who were bound together by a more open communal spirit. The Nova Scotia government gave generous aid to these "loyal" subjects of the English Crown. The latter did not disappoint them. They were the builders of towns, industrialists and businessmen who have played a major role in Digby, Yarmouth, Shelburne and Charlotte. Unlike the Scots and Acadians they were able to mingle easily with the various ethnic groups who were their neighbours. The New Englanders are proud and tenacious. In spite of the serious problems which have confronted the economy of Charlotte, they have not lost their footing and are busy seeking a solution.

The Acadians and the New Englanders are the ethnic groups which react by far the best to the socio-economic problems of the Maritimes; the former by their communal spirit and their industrious patience, the latter by their daring and enterprising spirit. The relationships of these two ethnic groups when they cohabit in the same territory, as in Digby-Yarmouth, are happy. The same cannot be said of the Acadian-Scots or the Scots-Irish relationships.

AN AID TO UNDERSTANDING THE POOR REGIONS

There is no precise conclusion to this type of survey. It represents, in the main, an aid to understanding, which presents, puts into concrete form and discusses, in relation to certain geographical areas, a broad and objective appraisal of poverty in the Maritimes. This survey has tried to create a vivid picture of these areas by means of the facts and problems of development: it is the activities and the behaviour of human beings which are being examined in their bio-physical setting.

The bio-physical setting, ways of life and poverty, factors considered interrelatedly throughout the survey, appear again in other counties in the Maritimes, coastal, rural, with simple economies. We refer to the survey counties, plus some more general types of counties previously mentioned: north-east New Brunswick, both extremities of Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton Island, and south-west Nova Scotia.

The bio-physical setting is the coast; the interior is unattractive as a whole. Independently of the statistical definition of the rural population, we believe it necessary to distinguish between the agglomerated coastal settlement (urban areas and continuous habitation) and the scattered settlement of the interior. These are essential differences between the coast and the inland region. The occupations are different and, therefore, so are the ways of life, attitudes and standards. *Ipso facto* it will thus be necessary to have recourse to a different approach and a different treatment for each. (Social disintegration often occurs in inland regions.)

Dependence on the bio-physical setting (including the seasonal aspect and the narrow range of resources), isolation and distance from markets and the large urban zones are among the fundamental causes of socio-economic behaviour of communities. This is true within the framework of the limiting factors that result from the general nature of the Maritimes and other circumstances.

This dependence applies especially in terms of the sea. The predominant way of life is that of the fisherman and, added to this, the fish processing industry and related activities. Agriculture and forestry are no longer important factors, and the tertiary level of employment fills the gap left by the secondary level. Low salaries are, at the same time, the lot of those engaged in exploiting natural resources, processing, commerce and services.

Those who are over 40 and have known poorer living conditions accept the living milieu with its limitations more easily than younger people. Social interdependence and family obligations, lack of education and fear of the outside world keep them rooted to the spot. The aging of the labour force engaged in traditional occupations is an inescapable result, which is already greatly advanced, while the strong and continual emigration draws off the vital elements. The departure of the young people does not help much, and it further diminishes the chance that communities may improve their lot. The disappearance of vigour and leadership places the weight of social burdens upon a working population that is earning low wages.

The government is well aware that the main effort must be made in the coastal areas, where men and employment are to be found. But, apart from investment and technical aid in fishing, manufacturing and boatbuilding, it is not yet possible to form a clear idea of where their efforts should be directed. It should be mentioned that the organization of the tourist industry is far from having reached its peak in areas that are generally picturesque and captivating. If the exodus of emigrants cannot be prevented, it may be possible to retard and control their departure somewhat by ensuring a more advanced general and technical education for the young in their native region. This would naturally be a matter of the government taking the initiative at the technical, administrative and financial levels, within the framework of local centres of education. Holding onto a large number of young people for two, three or five years would be beneficial at the social and psychological levels for the local people. Perhaps some new economic enterprises might then develop.

A great number of surveys are being carried out in the Maritimes, particularly within the ARDA program. These surveys are concerned with the inventory of resources, and analyses of the economies, attitudes and behaviour of communities, social organization and development itself, ranging from setting up factories to blueberry patches. *Less is known about men than about resources*, and it is by bringing out their talents, needs, means and aspirations that it will be possible to make contact between development and the communities. This contact is essential if men are to get out of the rut and enter on a path of modest but continuous and real progress.

The sense of social unity in a living milieu, which goes beyond the local community, will have to be developed regionally at the level of felt problems and of practical solutions. There should be no hesitation in widely spreading the co-operative formula which has already led to deserved success among fishermen. It is the regional aspect which we have tried to define, using the survey counties as our base. As far as possible, the city and the countryside should be organically linked. The solvency and efficiency of possible infrastructures and development plans demand social cohesion at this regional level. We are, however, not deceiving ourselves as to the present state of things and the pace of progress which may be expected.

The first stage should be for the communities to make themselves heard through comprehensive associations and other bodies, and not only within the framework of special interest groups (agriculture, forestry, etc.). The development of resources, though fundamental, is but one aspect of the development of the bio-physical setting.

The bottleneck for the inhabitants of the Maritimes is that, in milieus where development is limited by endogenous and exogenous factors, they have to move from a simple primary level to a qualified secondary, and to a tertiary level where there is also a need for qualifications. A direct and massive attempt at general and technical education and training, coupled with a sense of community, is indispensible in order to break the vicious circle of material poverty and intellectual poverty.

These Maritime living areas, settled for a long time now, have seen their ways of life progressively made harder through general and external factors. (It should always be noted that the Maritime Provinces are the victims of industrial progress.) It would be unjust and irrational to condemn them as a whole because a good number of men who are well integrated with their regions have remained there. The majority of them want to become equal partners at the social and economic levels with the citizens of the other parts of Canada. The stakes are high, this we know, but the country, in the present circumstances, can no longer permit this anaemia of the eastern regions. The essential steps should be taken to achieve equality.

Bio-physical setting, ways of life and living standards cannot be changed overnight. Although drastic measures should not be avoided on principle, this is essentially an imaginative, comprehensive and patient effort at revival. It will necessarily mean a fresh start, in which the people of the Maritimes will face up to their problems, with the assistance from government that has already begun to manifest itself.

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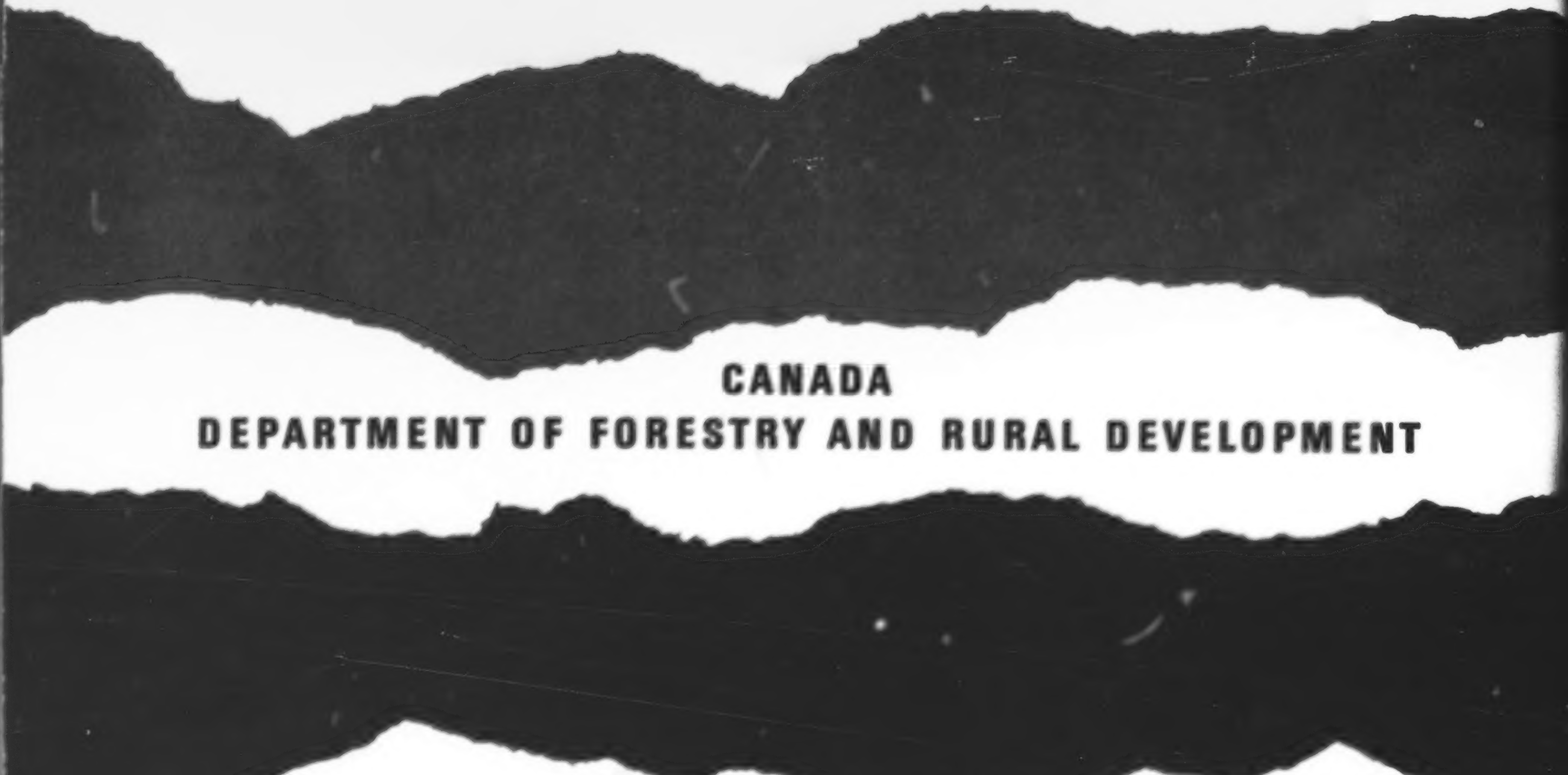

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